Corporate Social Responsibility and Media: An Anthropological Study of Public Policy

Progress Report on Completion of Post Doctoral Research

(25th July 2017 to 24th July 2022)

Submitted by

UGC Post-Doctoral Fellow- Indrani Mukherjee

Department of Anthropology

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Under the Supervision of

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Acknowledgement

I express my heartfelt gratitude to **Prof. S. M. Patnaik** who is my guide and mentor, and an integral part of my academic journey and research.

My thanks to **Prof. M. K. Sing** his support and insights have been invaluable for my post-doctoral work.

I express my appreciation to **Department of Anthropology**, and with it the rest of the faculty it my colleagues and students for their continued invaluable support

My express thanks to **University of Delhi** for allowing me the possibility of perusing this research.

The **people of my field**, their inclusivity and participation in this research has been the foundation of this work, and I remain extremely intended to them for the same.

UGC has my utmost gratitude for providing me with Postdoctoral fellowship (for women candidate). The fellowship was most essential to pursue quality work, and extremely important to sustain this academic journey. It has helped me in expanding my intellectual horizon and conduct research in a much need concern where anthropology can contribute immensely.

Certificate of Post-Doctoral Project Completion

This is to certify that **Dr. Indrani Mukherjee**, a Post-Doctoral fellow under University Grant's Commission's Post Doctoral Fellowship for women 2017-18 with award letter number 201718-PDFWM-2017-18-HAR-50697, has completed and submitted her PDF project report titled **Corporate Social Responsibility and Media: An Anthropological Study of Public Policy**, in the Department of Anthropology University of Delhi.

She joined the department as a research fellow on 25th July 2017.

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ANNEXURE-I

2021-11-18 19:55

UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION
BAHADURSHAH ZAFAR MARG
NEW DELHI – 110002

"JOINING REPORT"

Post Doctoral Fellowship to Women Candidates

Name of Fellow:

Award letter number and date :

This is to certify that Dr. INDRANI MUKHERJEE has joined the Department of ANTHROPOLOGY under the University/~~College~~ Institute ...U.F. DELHI ..... under the above scheme of University Grants Commission with effect from 25th July 2017 (FN/AN). She belongs to UNRESERVED category. She has been awarded Ph.D. degree on 30th MAY 2015 (Date) from DELHI University.

She will be provided with all necessary facilities during her tenure of award. The terms and conditions of the offer are acceptable to Fellow.

Also certified that she is not a recipient of emoluments from any other source after joining the above fellowship.

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Date:
Registrar/Director/Principal
Seal of University /Institution
Ph. No.
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University of Delhi
Delhi-110007
17/8/17

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Professor
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Soumendra M. Patnaik
Professor

ANNEXURE -IV

UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION
(SELECTION & AWARDS BUREAU)
BAHADUR SHAH ZAFAR MARG,
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PROGRESS REPORT

1. Name of the Post-Doctoral Fellow: DR INDRANI MUKHERJEE
2. Award letter number and date: No F 15-1/2017/PDFHM-2017-18-HAR-50697(SA-II) (dated 14th June 2017)
3. Topic of research work: CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND MEDIA: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF PUBLIC POLICY
4. Period of Progress Report: 25th JULY 2017 to 24th JULY 2018
5. Total number of working days during the period: 251
6. Number of days the fellow remained on leave (with dates):
   a) With fellowship, number of days: from..... to..... 0
   b) Without fellowship, number of days: from..... to..... 0
7. Number of days the Post Doctoral Fellow remained out of station for fieldwork/travel, with dates and places visited:
   a) Number of days: from 15th May 2018 to 15th July 2018
   b) Places visited: SAVDA GHERVA, WEST DELHI
8. Number of days the Post Doctoral Fellow remained present at the University/Institution/ College: 184
9. Publications during the period under report (please enclose a reprint of each): Title of article/paper: NA
10. Teaching work done during the period under report: Certificate course for Forensic Science
    (a) Number of periods taken per week at B.Sc./B.A level: NA 2 classes per week for 1 semester
    (b) Number of periods taken per week at M.Sc./M.A. level: NA 2 classes per week for 1 semester
11. Title of the monograph written during the period under report: NA
12. A detailed account of the work done during the period (a separate sheet may be attached for the purpose): ATTACHED
13. Comments of the supervisor on the progress of the research work during the period under report:

Signature Indrani M. | Signature | Signature
Name INDRANI MUKHERJEE | Name | Name
Date: 26.7.2018 | Designation/Head | Date:
Name of the Candidate: INDRANI MUKHERJEE | Head of The Deptt. | Registrar/Director/Principal
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2018-8-8 15:57

ANNEXURE –IV

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PROGRESS REPORT

1. Name of the Post-Doctoral Fellow: DR. INDRANI MUKHERJEE
2. Award letter number and date: NO F15-1/2017/PDFHM-2017-18-HAR-50697(SA-II)(19.6.17)
3. Topic of research work: CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND MEDIA: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF PUBLIC POLICY
4. Period of Progress Report: 25th July 2018 to 24th July 2019
5. Total number of working days during the period: 280
6. Number of days the fellow remained on leave (with dates): 0
   a) With fellowship, number of days: from..... to.....
   b) Without fellowship, number of days: from..... to.....
7. Number of days the Post Doctoral Fellow remained out of station for fieldwork/travel, with dates and places visited:
   a) Number of days: from 1st Jan to 30th April 2019 and 1st June to 31st July
   b) Places visited Sarda Seva, Delhi Metro, Kasan Village Manesar, Library research at CTI Gurgaon
8. Number of days the Post Doctoral Fellow remained present at the University/Institution/ College: 156 days
9. Publications during the period under report (please enclose a reprint of each): Title of article/paper. 3
10. Teaching work done during the period under report:
    (a) Number of periods taken per week at B.Sc./B.A level: Certificate Course forensic Science (July 2018) sem I
    (b) Number of periods taken per week at M.Sc./M.A. level: Semester I of M.Sc. Forensic Science, Criminology Paper (July 2018)
11. Title of the monograph written during the period under report: N.A
12. A detailed account of the work done during the period (a separate sheet may be attached for the purpose): Attached
13. Comments of the supervisor on the progress of the research work during the period under report:

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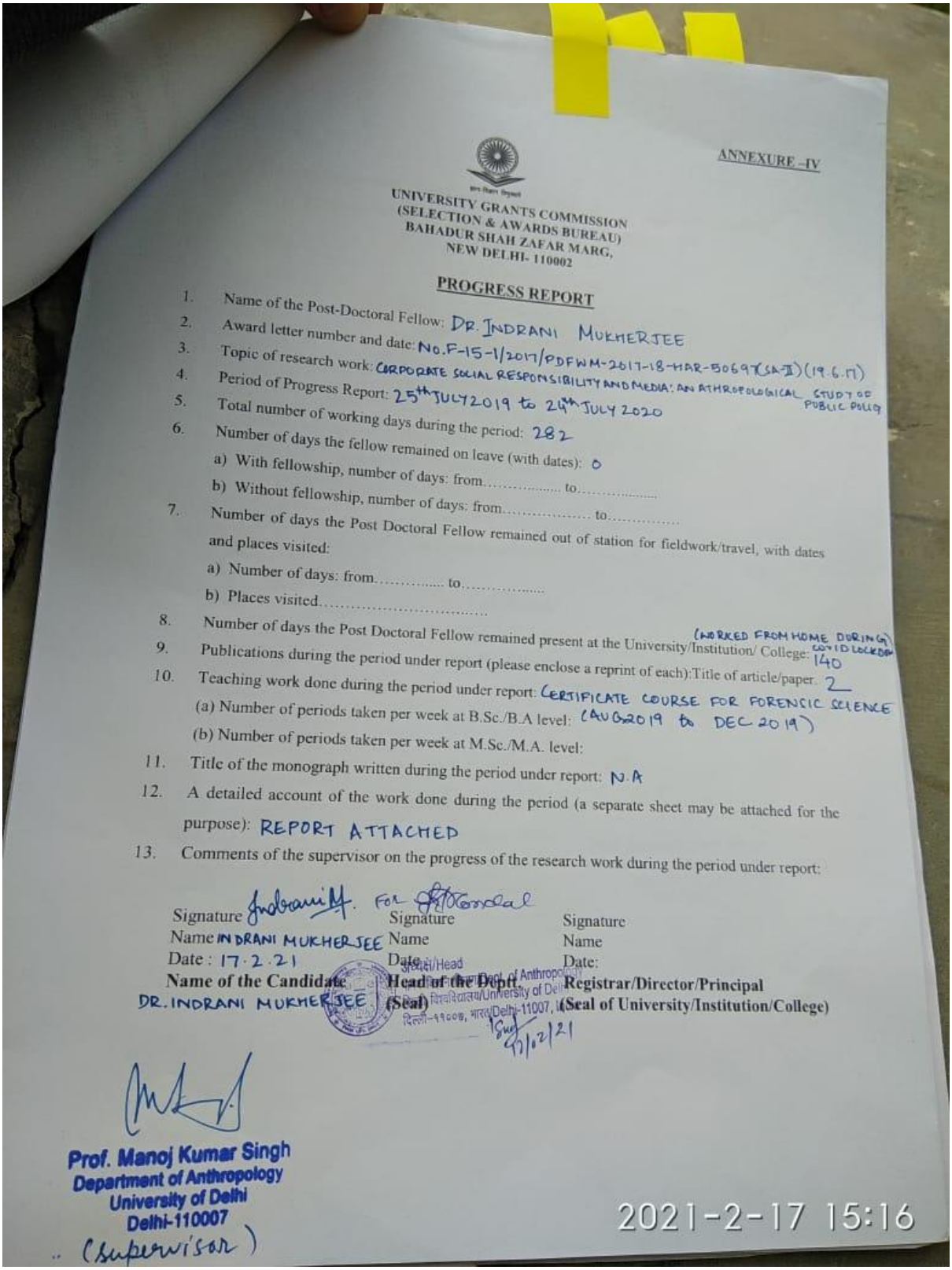
2019-8-2 10:25



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PROGRESS REPORT

1. Name of the Post-Doctoral Fellow: DR. INDRANI MUKHERJEE
2. Award letter number and date: No.F-15-1/2017/PDFWM-2017-18-HAR-5069(SA-II)(19.6.17)
3. Topic of research work: CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND MEDIA: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF PUBLIC POLICY
4. Period of Progress Report: 25th JULY 2019 to 24th JULY 2020
5. Total number of working days during the period: 282
6. Number of days the fellow remained on leave (with dates): 0
   a) With fellowship, number of days: from..... to.....
   b) Without fellowship, number of days: from..... to.....
7. Number of days the Post Doctoral Fellow remained out of station for fieldwork/travel, with dates and places visited:
   a) Number of days: from..... to.....
   b) Places visited.....
8. Number of days the Post Doctoral Fellow remained present at the University/Institution/ College: (WORKED FROM HOME DURING COVID LOCKDOWN) 140
9. Publications during the period under report (please enclose a reprint of each):Title of article/paper. 2
10. Teaching work done during the period under report: CERTIFICATE COURSE FOR FORENSIC SCIENCE
    (a) Number of periods taken per week at B.Sc./B.A level: (AUG 2019 to DEC 2019)
    (b) Number of periods taken per week at M.Sc./M.A. level:
11. Title of the monograph written during the period under report: N.A
12. A detailed account of the work done during the period (a separate sheet may be attached for the purpose): REPORT ATTACHED
13. Comments of the supervisor on the progress of the research work during the period under report:

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1. Name of the Post Doctoral Fellow: DR. INDRANI MUKHERJEE
2. Award letter number and date: No F-15-1/2017/PDFWM-2017-18-HAR-50897 (SA-II) (19.6.17)
3. Topic of research work: CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND MEDIA: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF PUBIC POLICY
4. Period of Progress Report: 25th JULY 2018 TO 24th JULY 2021
5. Total number of working days during the period: 298
6. Number of days the fellow remained on leave (with dates): 0
   a) With fellowship, number of days: from ..... to .....
   b) Without fellowship, number of days: from ..... to .....
7. Number of days the Post Doctoral Fellow remained out of station for fieldwork/travel, with dates and places visited:
   a) Number of days: from ..... to .....
   b) Places visited .....
8. Number of days the Post Doctoral Fellow remained present at the University/Institution/ College: 15 (WORKED FROM HOME DUE TO COVID-19 PANDEMIC)
9. Publications during the period under report (please enclose a reprint of each):Title of article/paper: 6
10. Teaching work done during the period under report:
    (a) Number of periods taken per week at B.Sc./B.A level: N.A
    (b) Number of periods taken per week at M.Sc./M.A. level: N.A
11. Title of the monograph written during the period under report:
12. A detailed account of the work done during the period (a separate sheet may be attached for the purpose): REPORT ATTACHED
13. Comments of the supervisor on the progress of the research work during the period under report:

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2021-8-17 11:22

Executive Summary of the Research

(Section I)

India has taken a bold step by including corporates into their development plan, by mandating corporate social responsibility (CSR) under the Companies Act 2013. However, at the level of everyday reality CSR still means different things to its various social agents and actors. In this, the research endeavored to see how the corporate engages with the current social need. The research took the case corporates whose major thrust of work is towards 'health' and 'women's empowerment'. It looked at Corporate Social Responsibility from different social perspective in an attempt to understand what it represents for different institutions, actors and agents in society and how they are in conflict as well as continuity with each other. The aim of the research was to recognize the best practices and policies to create greater synergy between the various social agencies involved. The scope of the research was multifaceted and it continues to feed into future enquiry of a larger involved and ongoing process.

The research is multisited in its approach and is looking at different ethnographic spaces in the world system, including the International and National CSR forums, The National policy and programmes, the corporates of study, the partnering nongovernment agencies and the people/community concerned. The research at hand takes two different approaches. It takes a bottom up approach to understand how the beneficiaries/communities/local level social interphase of the corporate initiatives are conceptualizing, receiving and responding to the initiative (CSR). On the other hand it also takes a top down approach in understanding how the government and the corporates are negotiating the understanding and the implementation of CSR as a part of the world system. In this the research focuses on different global and local social spheres that give rise to the dialectics of Corporate Social Responsibility. The research analyses the role of communication and media in these various social spheres and takes a critical approach to understand how dialect plays a significant role in the power dynamics between the various institutions involved. For this the research will consider communication through print, visual and social media.

Objectives of the study

1. To explore the inter-sectionality between public policy and Corporate Social Responsibility in a comparative perspective. The differential handling of Corporate Social Responsibility by the state, corporates, and civil society, sociological and anthropological academicians is examined in

light of the language they use to put their point forward, recognizing the conflict and continuum within the actors from a critical point of view.

2. Corporates were studied for their CSR initiatives in health (viz water and food CSR programmes) and women's empowerment respectively.

3 CSR initiatives were studied for the difference in the social concern pre and post corporate intervention.

4. The CSR initiatives were studied for how the local community is receiving and accepting the initiative and how it is thus conceptualizing CSR.

5. The corporate initiatives were studied in a comparative perspective to understand the 'why' behind best practices as well as lack of success.

It is hypothesized that in spite of the politics and controversy around CSR, its success lies in the community taking a right based approach towards the understanding and implementation of CSR, especially now when CSR is becoming an active part of the development paradigm.

While the scope of this research is all encompassing and vast the research was visualized into three different tasks in order concretize the research focus with the broad research objectives in mind.

The following are the main tasks undertaken during the research the related discussion and findings have been presented in the sections that follow.

I. Understanding the discourse on shifting global trends and significance of terminological nuances like Corporate Social Responsibility and Global Corporate Citizenship, Environment and social governance, along withs India's policy initiatives in CSR.

II. Review of media material and literature in the Indian context on CSR, especially with reference to key corporates involved in the provision of drinking water in public spaces, within Delhi and NCR.

III. Explore the CSR programme called 'happy fridge' concentrating on a housing complex within Gurgaon, with special refernce to a Woman's WhatsApp group and the use of digital anthropology and content analysis.

Making sense of the term 'CSR'

Corporate social responsibility is a concept which is constructed in the sphere of Global tran-national policy fields. It traverses the international and the National Space through international development agencies/ national governments/ corporate conglomerates, Multinational organisations, corporates and private development bureaucracies/ social and academic experts/ the non-government organisations and community-based organisation (to name a few) being continuously interpreted, translated and reinterpreted between the relative position of global and local, through interactional politics. In this Corporate Social Responsibility can be understood in the world system context as George Marcus talks of the logic of association and the needs to find what connects to what and to construct subjects in changing contexts as they act and are acted upon. He talks about "circulation of cultural meanings, objects and identities in diffuse time-space". (Marcus, 1995). It also helps to understand, as Arjun Appadurai points out, that Cultural logics which are much sought after in Anthropology are always multiply produced (Appadurai,2001).

Further Appadurai says that the combination of Global efflorescence of non-government politics with multiple technological revolutions of the last 50 years has provided much energy to what has been called "cross border activism" through transnational advocacy network. These networks provide new horizontal modes for articulating the deep democratic politics of the locality, creating hitherto unpredicted groupings: examples may be "issue based" – focused on the environment, child labour or AIDS (ideology-based groups). This cross-border activism has a significant role in conceptualizing the issues of social relevance and significance.

The understanding of Corporate Social responsibility and its implementation through programmes that are a part of the world system with partners that consist of INGOs and UN, translates into what Foucault recognizes as conduct of conduct through social norms, know hows and technical support of various partnering organisations. The conceptual frame thus born was operationalized through programmatic design for planed intervention to be unfolded at the ground level, which brings us to what Thomas Bierschenk calls the "dogma of participation" this dogma implies an ethics of understanding otherness, which claims to constitute the entire identity of the onsite development workers and to shape their nonprofessional forms of interaction with the 'others'

along with the professional interaction. The political nature of aid, the social position of development organization, the cultural construction of Corporate Social Responsibility at various realms of world system might lead to the loss of the subaltern voice who are often the recipients of a programme planned eternal to their participation or at best involved in a peripheral engagement in the everyday implementation.

We thus find that Corporate Social Responsibility is an evolving concept filled with inner contradictions on one hand and enormous possibilities on the other. Proponents of Corporate Social Responsibility believe that Corporations are not only the ideal agents for promoting economic growth; they are also the prime candidates for dealing with potential fallouts from that growth. CSR is being increasingly flaunted as the bridge between business and development (Blowfield and Frynas, 2005), and it is argue that corporations have the capacity to be a new source of global governance, widely understood as "mechanisms to reach collective decisions about transnational problems with or without government participation" (Levy and Kaplan, 2008: 433). However, critical theorists writing on CSR tend to operate from a 'discourse of suspicion,' contending that things are not as they seem (Kuhn and Deetz, 2008: 174). These theorists have sought to identify how the so called socially responsible activities can obscure deeper contradictions and power relations which unevenly benefit corporations, while anaesthetizing citizens who might otherwise demand change. Quoting that, CSR may be a more recent term but it is simply a newer manifestation of older debates about business ethics and the need for business practice to be grounded in moral principles and 'controlled greed' (Blowfield and Frynas, 2005: 500). Corporate Social Responsibility has also been treated with both criticism and scepticism owing to a history where some corporates created false facade using social projects to cover their malpractices (Kumar, 2004). Further, Wayne Visser (2008) found two important differences in how CSR is practiced in the developing world versus the developed world. Firstly, in the former, CSR tends to be even less formalized and institutionalized in terms of benchmarks commonly used (and hence studied) in industrialized countries. Secondly, making an economic contribution through CSR is seen as the most effective and important way for businesses to make an impact on developing countries, while CSR in developed countries mostly focuses on businesses' ethical and legal responsibilities. In spite of these contradictions, CSR is a concept gaining ever increasing significance in the field of business and social welfare. It is deemed that once CSR is channelized

in the right direction, it can make a tremendous impact on the society. This is especially true for a country like India which has taken a bold step by including corporates into its development plan, by mandating corporate social responsibility (CSR) under the Companies Act 2013. The discipline of Anthropology has already actively started engaging in the discourse of Corporate Social Responsibility and the scope of this engagement continues to grow as this social phenomenon continues to develop itself. In spite of all these controversies CSR is a concept gaining ever increasing significance in the field of business and social welfare.

The attempt to define CSR has remained a challenge inspite of its evolving significance. It is a term which has been defined by various business institutes, international organisations as well as academicians. Though most definitions follow a common thread and highlight different aspects of CSR, there is no single universal definition. The following are some conceptualizations of the term.

Definitions of Corporate Social Responsibility and related terms

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), can be described as, the continuous commitment by corporations towards the economic and social development of communities in which they operate.

The European Commission's Green Paper (2001) defines CSR as "a concept whereby companies integrate social and environmental concerns in their business operations and in their interaction with their stakeholders on a voluntary basis".

According to Carroll and Buchholtz, Corporate Social responsibility (CSR) can be defined as the 'economic, legal, ethical and discretionary expectations that society has of organizations at a given point of time. (2003, p.36)

"CSR is about capacity building for sustainable livelihoods. It respects cultural differences and finds the business opportunities in building the skills of employees, the community and the government" from Ghana, through to "CSR is about business giving back to society" from the Phillipines.

CSR definition used by Business for Social Responsibility is: "Operating a business in a manner that meets or exceeds the ethical, legal, commercial and public expectations that society has of business..

On the other hand, the European Commission hedges its bets with two definitions wrapped into one: "A concept whereby companies decide voluntarily to contribute to a better society and a cleaner environment. A concept whereby companies integrate social and environmental concerns in their business operations and in their interaction with their stakeholders on a voluntary basis".

The aim of social responsibility is to create higher and higher standards of living, while preserving the profitability of the corporation, for peoples both within and outside the corporation Original Source: Michael Hopkins: A Planetary Bargain: Corporate Social Responsibility Comes of Age (Macmillan, UK, 1998) Revised August 2005 285

Corporate citizenship is about business taking greater account of its social and environmental - as well as its financial - footprints. Source: Simon Zadek The Civil Corporation, (p7, Earthscan, London, 2001)

Corporate Governance is concerned with holding the balance between economic and social goals and between individual and communal goals. The corporate governance framework is there to encourage the efficient use of resources and equally to require accountability for the stewardship of those resources. The aim is to align as nearly as possible the interests of individuals, corporations and society" Source: Sir Adrian Cadbury in ‘Global Corporate Governance Forum’, World Bank, 2000)

The Prince of Wales International Business Leaders Forum: "CSR means open and transparent business practices that are based on ethical values and respect for employees, communities, and the environment. It is designed to deliver sustainable value to society at large, as well as to shareholders" (http://www.iblf.org/csr).

Business for Social Responsibility (BSR), U.S.-based global business organization: CSR means "...operating a business enterprise in a manner that consistently meets or exceeds the ethical, legal, commercial, and public expectations society has of business" (http://www.bsr.org/).

Commission of the European Union: "A concept whereby companies decide voluntarily to contribute to a better society and a cleaner environment" "Voluntary business initiatives, in the form of CSR practices, can play a key role in contributing to sustainable development while enhancing Europe's innovative potential and competitiveness" (Jobs and Growth Strategy)

World Commission on Environment and Development (1987, p. 43):"sustainable development meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future 286 generations to meet their own needs" and "CSR is the continuing commitment by business to behave ethically and contribute to economic development while improving the quality of life of the workforce and their families as well as of the local community and society at large" (WBCSD, 1999).

UN Global Compact (http://www.unglobalcompact.org): "Through the power of collective action, the Global Compact seeks to advance responsible corporate citizenship so that business can be part of the solution to the challenges of globalization. In this way, the private sector - in partnership with other social actors - can help realize the Secretary-General's vision: a more sustainable and inclusive global economy".

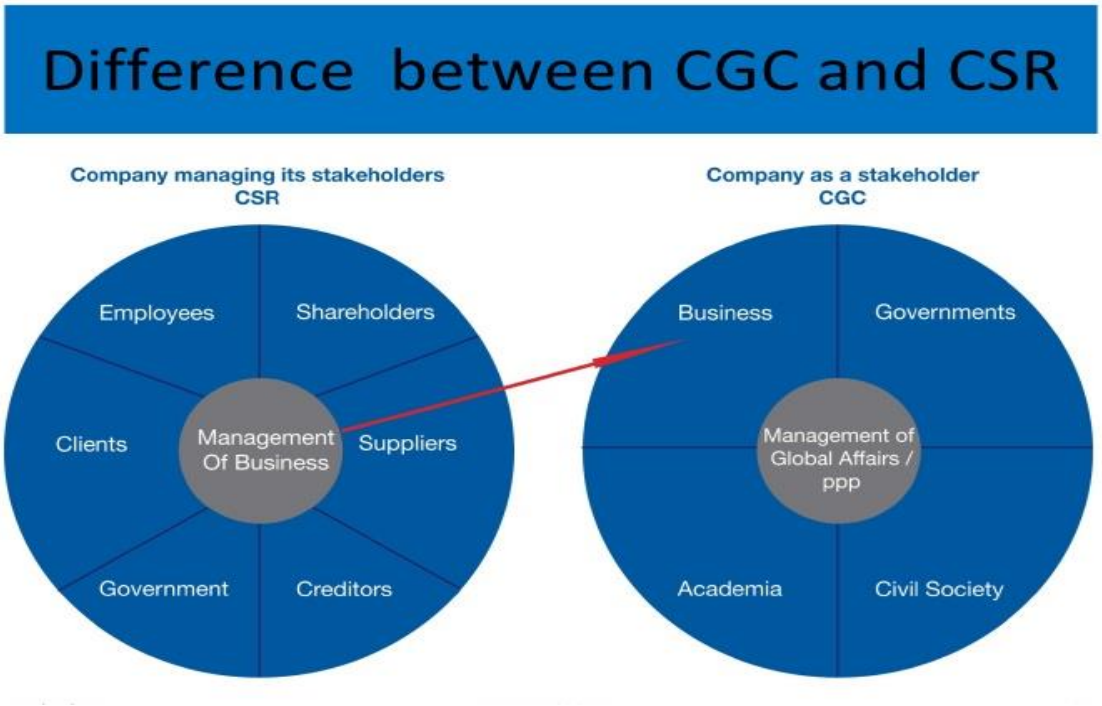
Grayson and Hodges: Corporate Social Responsibility or responsible entrepreneurship: "businesses seeking to minimise their negative environmental and social impacts and to maximise their positive environmental and social impacts"

“A Guide to Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)” CSR is a means of analyzing the inter-dependent relationships that exist between businesses and economic systems, and the communities within which they are based. CSR is a means of discussing the extent of any obligations a business has to its immediate society; a way of proposing policy ideas on how those obligations can be met; as well as a tool by which the benefits to a business for meeting those obligations can be identified (University of Miami, 2007).

Further, the concept of CSR has also been covered under a number of different terminologies like corporate ethics, ethical business, corporate governance, community relations, corporate social accountability etc. to name a few (Carroll, 1999).

CSR has seen a number of shits in terminologies. It is presently seeing conceptualization in the role governance. In this it is significant to also understand the discourse on the debate between Corporate Social Responsibility to Global Corporate Citizenship, and the resulting shift in media communication from public relations to strategic communication.

The concept of Corporate Citizenship (CC) (McIntosh et al. 2003, McIntosh and Andriof 2001, Warhurst 2001) linked up with the social contract theory where in the companies' rights and duties/obligations were compared to that of a citizens and was understood as 'the management of the totality of relationships between a company and its host communities, locally, nationally and globally' (EC Com-mission 2002). This brought forth the debate and discussion on the role of private authorities in global governance, and the emergence of 'private' establishments as relocation of authority from sovereign states to an extra-territorial political space (Cutler, Haufler and Porter 1999, Hall and Biersteker 2002, Cashore and Bernstein 2004). In this the concept is steadily shifting towards the idea of Global corporate citizenship.



The present interest is to understand how this shift will affect corporate social interphase.

During the World Economic Forum in January 2002 New York, 46 CEOs of the world's largest multinational corporations signed a document entitled "Global Corporate Citizenship emphasized

that business leadership processes focusing on the company's impact on society and its relationships with stakeholders are not 'add-ons' but fundamental to core business operations. "Global Corporate Citizenship." For him this notion "is an extension of the stakeholder concept and involves the corporation acting as a stakeholder in global society, together with government and civil society (...) Global corporate citizenship integrates both the rights and the responsibilities that corporations have as global citizens. And in relying on a multistakeholder approach to tackling global problems, it can point out the way to new models of effective global governance that integrate business as a key stakeholder."

We find two models of stakeholder relationships

In one, the corporation is at the center, with relational "spokes" radiating outward to a host of primary and secondary stake holders.

The second model places the corporation among other primary and secondary stakeholders while the community itself is placed at the center of the model.

In the first model, the corporation is expected to be appropriately responsive to its stakeholders. In the second, it is expected that the corporation and its fellow stakeholders will be engaged in addressing the issues facing the community.

In this Waddell argues that "business ethics" and "corporate social responsibility" implies that "ethics" or "responsibility" are concepts which are not present in business, or even worse, which are opposed to business. They were terms used by many proponents in the sense of reminding business of something additional they should or even must do. "Citizenship" on the other hand, has a rather different connotation for business. CC can be said to highlight the fact that the corporation sees or recaptures - its rightful place in society, next to other "citizens", with whom the corporation forms a community. Citizenship then focuses on rights and responsibilities of all members of the community, which are mutually interlinkd and dependant on each other (Waddell, 2000).

Following the language of corporate finance there is talk of "social investing" (Waddock, 2001) in order to build up "social capital" (cf. the papers in Habisch et al., 2001) or "reputational capital" (Fombrun et al., 2000), ‘positive foot print’ all of which ultimately help to improve the economic performance or organisational performance of the corporation (Bolino et al., 2002).

Birch regards CC as an innovation to the CSR concept in that CC causes business to see itself as part of the public culture whereas CSR is - according to his perception - more concerned with social responsibility as an external affair (Birch, 2001; see also Logan et al., 1997; Mclntosh et al., 1998).

The concept of Corporate Citizenship provides a new visualization to the position of the corporate viz a viz their ideation of their role in society. However, the visualization still remains top down and corporates in the space of governance, with people centric bottom-up approach remaining debatable.

Evolution of CSR in India

The philosophy of CSR was not new for the Indian economy though it might not have been called by that term. In India, the concept of philanthropy by businesses is not new Indian businessmen often supported the society in one way or the other out of a portion of their income, and charity and religious donation played an important role in the economic operations of ancient India. Welfare programs or initiatives were introduced by business houses not as a duty or a responsibility but as a form of charity that was supposed to indicate the virtues of the company or the organization. This was also reflected in India's politico-economic vision where Gandhiji acknowledged the right of business to make profits but urged that it gave what was not needed back to the community as 'trusts' of the 'wealth of the people', thus emphasizing the larger social purpose that industrial wealth should serve in independent India (Bader, 1995, Ray and Ray, 2012). In the early days of the post- independence period, the Indian state under the heavy influence of socialism encouraged private industries to play an active role in the economic and social development of the backward sections of the society, while at the same time setup a mammoth public sector for serving larger societal interests. Corporations like the Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC), Steel Authority of India Ltd. (SAIL) and Gas Authority of India Ltd. (GAIL) where expected to take on community initiatives in the areas in which they operated, while Indian Airlines and Bharat Heavy Electronics looked into disaster management efforts.

India recognised the need for social responsibility of business in the publication of the Sachar committee report (1978). The committee observed, 'Every company apart from being able to justify itself on the test of economic viability, will have to pass the test of socially responsible entity. In this context it will be judged by the various tests dependent upon the circumstances in

each company, and in each area. Thus, a chemical company which may declare very high dividends may yet be responsible for polluting the water, air and would have to be declared as a socially irresponsible company. No company in these days can disown its social responsibility.' The report made it obligatory for the Indian companies to report about their social responsibility. TISCO took the lead in 1980 by incorporating a social responsibility clause in its article of association, by subjecting itself to social audit and to get it published (Balachandran and Chandrasekaran, 2011). Socialism gave way to the more radical policies of nationalization and extensive state regulation during the national emergency. Industrial groups desperate to avoid the draconian state policies and regulations in economic affairs resorted to large scale corporate welfare programs to demonstrate that private wealth also played an important role in poverty alleviation and the socio-economic development of the nation, and was not anti-people.

With the introduction of economic liberalization and the free market economy in India, the business operating environment turned from one, which was openly hostile to being warm and welcoming and was marketed as the new global business destination. The major impact of these economic reforms was the increased presence of transnational corporations in the country and transformation of Indian businesses into large global enterprises. However, the indiscriminate expansion of production units posed a great challenge to the sustainability and viability of mega-businesses, particularly in the context of the emerging discontent against multinational corporations in different parts of the world. Labourers, marginalised consumers, environmental activists and social activists protested against the unprecedented predominance of multinational corporations. In this scenario, there was an increased focus on the social role of these private enterprises by both the proponents and opponents of liberalization in India.

Multinational companies exploring new markets in India have been known to resist the implementation of stringent environmental legislation in India. Human, consumer and environmental rights are contested terrains, and corporate scandals are commonplace. Many international brands, marketing new materials such as plastics, food packaging or electronics, do not bring along systems of waste minimization or management, which they readily incorporate into their western operations. On the contrary, they resist the setting up of such systems through their immense lobbying powers with governments.

In the traditional paradigm, most corporate bodies viewed CSR as the extension of a financial input for a humanitarian cause. The field of CSR began with the focus on the role of business leaders. In India, the concept of philanthropy by businesses is not new and is marked by the efforts of industrial dynasties like Birlas and the Tatas however, the main drawback in the philanthropy based model was that they did not take sustainability into consideration. The corporation did not commit its resources and often confined themselves to one-time or periodical financial grants. Corporation did not feel the need for community participation and displayed low levels of accountability and transparency at the implementation level.

Post-liberalization saw a fundamental shift from the philanthropy-based model of corporate social responsibility to a stakeholder theory model. CSR was conceptualised to extend beyond the statutory obligation and was visualised as organizations voluntarily taking steps to improve the quality of life for employees and their families as well as for the local community and society, there increasing the recognition of the triple-bottom-line: People, Planet and Profit (UN Global Compact, 1999, appendix 3), with emphasis on stakeholder participation, sustainable development and economic sustainability, and analysing corporate profits in conjunction with social prosperity. There is a third and growing perspective that shapes the new principles and practice of corporate social responsibility. This is a rights-based perspective, which emphasises that the stakeholders have a right to know about corporations and their business and speaks of accountability, transparency and social and environmental investment as the key aspects of corporate social responsibility.

The 1990's started seeing a shift in the ideology of CSR from an individual/ leadership based initiative to that of a core function of the corporate. The phase saw the increased presence of large transnational corporations in India which had developed corporate social responsibility initiatives based on the stakeholder participation model. This had a 'rub-off' effect on Indian enterprises, which were also operating in the same market. Leading Indian companies with strong international shareholdings, such as Hero Honda, HLL (Hindustan Lever Ltd), ITC, and Maruti Udyog, engaged in CSR, where local dynamics fused with the business standards of the parent or partner. In spite of the Corporates that where involved in CSR remained abysmal.

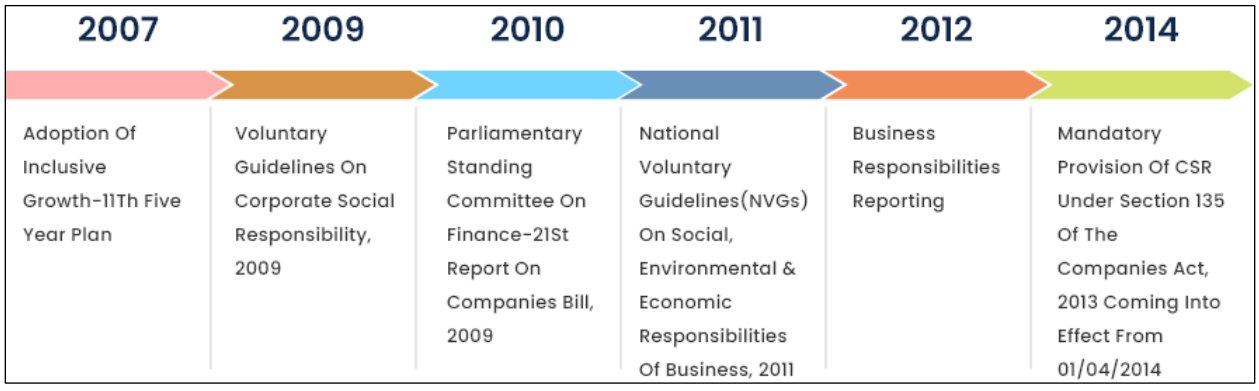
India has seen several attempts to the formalisation CSR since the mid-1990s. Among these was the first voluntary code of corporate governance, by the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII), "Desirable Corporate Governance: A Code". Consecutive, was the establishment of the National Foundation for Corporate Governance (NFCG) by the Ministry of Corporate Affairs (MCA), in partnership with the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII), the Institute of Company Secretaries of India (ICSI) and the Institute of Chartered Accountants of India (ICAI) to raise the standard of corporate governance in India towards achieving stability and growth.

India has been an active advocate for mandating CSR since 2009. The Ministry of Corporate Affairs had released Corporate Social Responsibility Voluntary Guideline in 2009 and subsequently a refinement this document to 'National Voluntary Guidelines for the Social, Environmental and Economic Responsibilities of Business' in 2011, and had had corporates aligning themselves to the concept of CSR. The Companies Act, 2013, received the assent of the President on the 29th August, 2013, with this, India has become a country to have Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) spending mandated through a statutory provision. CSR is governed by clause 135 of the Companies Act, 2013.The CSR provisions within the Act is applicable to companies with an annual turnover of 1,000 crore INR and more, or a net worth of 500 crore INR and more, or a net profit of five crore INR and more. The new rules, applicable from the fiscal year 2014-15 require companies to set-up a CSR committee consisting of their board members, including at least one independent director. The Act encourages companies to spend at least 2% of their average net profit in the previous three years on CSR activities. Only CSR activities undertaken in India will be taken into consideration, as profits are to be calculated excluding profits arising from branches outside India. Activities meant exclusively for employees and their families will not qualify. Surplus arising out of CSR activities will have to be reinvested into CSR initiatives, and this will be over and above the 2% figure. A CSR committee will be responsible for preparing a detailed plan on CSR activities, including the expenditure, the type of activities, roles and responsibilities of various stakeholders and a monitoring mechanism for such activities. Companies may implement these activities taking into account the local conditions.

The Act lists out a set of activities eligible under CSR Schedule VII of the Act to include (i) eradicating extreme hunger and poverty; (ii) promotion of education; (iii) promoting gender equality and empowering women; (iv) reducing child mortlity and improving maternal health; (v) combating human immunodeficiency virus, acquired immune deficiency syndrome, malaria and other diseases; (vi) ensuring environmental sustainability; (vii) employment enhancing vocational skills; (viii) social business projects; (ix) contribution to the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund or any other fund set up by the Central Government or the State Governments for socio-economic development and relief and funds for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, other backward classes, minorities and women; and (x) such other matters as may be prescribed. (xi) slum area development

The company can implement its CSR activities directly on its own, through its own non-profit foundation set- up so as to facilitate this initiative, through independently registered non-profit organisations that have a record of at least three years in similar such related activities, collaborating or pooling their resources with other companies. The Act also requires that these companies have a Board level CSR committee that formulates and monitors a CSR policy and recommends CSR spending. The Board must also approve and publicly disclose the CSR policy as well as report what the company has spent on CSR in a prescribed format in the annual report.

Ministry of Corporate Affairs provides the following as a brief evolution of CSR on its website. https://www.csr.gov.in/content/csr/global/master/home/aboutcsr/history.html.


2007
Adoption Of Inclusive Growth-11Th Five Year Plan
2009
Voluntary Guidelines On Corporate Social Responsibility, 2009
2010
Parliamentary Standing Committee On Finance-21St Report On Companies Bill, 2009
2011
National Voluntary Guidelines(NVGs) On Social, Environmental & Economic Responsibilities Of Business, 2011
2012
Business Responsibilities Reporting
2014
Mandatory Provision Of CSR Under Section 135 Of The Companies Act, 2013 Coming Into Effect From 01/04/2014

"Mandatory provisions of CSR under section 135 of the Companies act, 2013 became effective from 01.04.2014.

The importance of inclusive growth is widely recognized as an essential part of India's quest for development. It reiterates our firm commitment to include those sections of the society in the growth process, which had hitherto remained excluded from the mainstream of development. In line with this national endeavor, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) was conceived as an instrument for integrating social, environmental and human development concerns in the entire value chain of corporate business. Ministry of Corporate Affairs had issued 'Voluntary Guidelines on Corporate Social Responsibility, 2009' as a first step towards mainstreaming the concept of Business Responsibilities. This was further refined subsequently, as 'National Voluntary Guidelines on Social, Environmental and Economic Responsibilities of Business, 2011'.

The National Voluntary Guidelines (NVGs) on Social, Environmental and Economic Responsibilities of Business released by the Ministry of Corporate Affairs (MCA) in July 2011, is essentially a set of nine principles that offer Indian businesses an understanding and approach to inculcate responsible business conduct. However, taking into account the national and international developments in the arena of sustainable business since 2011, the NVGs have been updated and released as 'National Guidelines on Responsible Business Conduct' (NGRBC) in March 2019 to reveal alignments with the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business & Human Rights (UNGPs), UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), Paris Agreement on Climate change etc. The NGRBC provides a framework for the companies to grow in an inclusive and sustainable manner while addressing the concerns of stakeholders". https://www.csr.gov.in/content/csr/global/master/home/aboutcsr/history.html

2019 saw significant amendments being made to the provisions under the Companies act 2013, through issuance of various notifications and clarifications to streamline its implementation by companies. The Companies (Amendment) Act, 2019 issued in July 2019 made utilisation of unspent amount earmarked for CSR activities mandatory for companies, failing which it would be transferred to the funds specified in the Schedule VII of the 2013 Act. In March 2020, another set of amendments were proposed to the CSR provisions through the Companies (Amendment) Bill, 2020. The amendments, *inter alia*, proposed to allow set-off of amount spent in excess of

the prescribed limit of two per cent in a given year against the requirement to spend for such number of succeeding financial years and in such manner, as may be prescribed. In June 2020, the Institute of Chartered Accountants of India (ICAI) has also issued a technical guide on 'Accounting for Expenditure on CSR Activities' (the guide) which provide detailed guidance on the recognition, measurement, presentation and disclosure of expenditure on activities relating to CSR. The guide also incorporates amendments made by the Companies (Amendment) Act, 2019 and those proposed by the Companies (Amendment) Bill, 2020 and provide guidance on change in measurement and accounting of CSR consequent to the amendments.

Corporates in their wake have accepted the mandate; however in the initial stages of the mandate the Handbook on Corporate Social Responsibility in India, by CII states that "Companies have been the target of those perturbed by uneven development and as a result, their contributions to society are under severe scrutiny", and that "Schedule VII of the Company's Act, which lists out the CSR activities, suggests communities to be the focal point. On the other hand, by discussing a company's relationship to its stakeholders and integrating CSR into its core operations, the rules suggest that CSR needs to go beyond communities and beyond the concept of philanthropy. It will be interesting to observe the ways in which this will translate into action at the ground level, and how the understanding of CSR is set to undergo a change." CSR initiatives under the Act are left to the corporates discretion; this further problematizes the very question of who are the stakeholders of CSR. Particularly in the case of more concrete CSR projects (e.g., the building of a school or hospital), the relationship between the corporation as an agent of development, and those identified as recipients of development, is essentially a quasi-contractual one (Sharp, 2006). Those who are not members of the communities concerned are not directly entitled to any of the development projects being provided by the corporation. This is markedly different from how states are expected to approach development, since a state's stakeholders are, at least in theory, all of its citizens. Corporate Social Responsibility has also been treated with both criticism and skepticism owing to a history where some corporates created false facade using social projects to cover their malpractices (Kumar, 2004). The CSR mandate is today being criticized for the fact that the government is more interested in directioning the profit after it has been made rather than when and how it is made.

Post the implementation of the Companies Act 2013, annual CSR Tracker 2017 by CII (Confederation of Indian Industry) provides an analysis for the year 2016 based on 1,270 companies which collectively spent Rs 8,185 cr, which is 27% more than spend of Rs 6,400 cr in 2015. This spend was 92% of the required CSR budget. Health and sanitation, education and skill development, and rural development are the top three developmental areas for spends. While, KPMG's yearly 'India CSR Reporting Survey' that analysed India Inc's CSR activities until September 30, 2017, reveals that the instances of companies spending less than two percent of their profits have decreased in the past three years. India's top 100 companies have CSR policies in place and make full disclosures of their CSR initiatives in annual reports. Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is now an integral part of most Indian businesses. More structured CSR budgets have been put in place now, reveals the report, and many organisations are seeking the support of "external implementing agencies". The "capability" argument suggesting that business executives and managers are typically well trained in the ways of finance, marketing and operations management, but not well versed with complex societal problems, is well harmonized by its partners, bringing to the forefront the significance of public private partnership. Subsequently, KPMG CSR report for 2019 revealed that disclosure of the amount spent has increased from 30 % in 2014-15 to 99 per cent in 2018-19. It also states that 'companies reporting the vision/mission/philosophy of the CSR policy, and in growing company alignment with the UN Sustainable Development Goals. As the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) increasingly gain traction in business globally'. Further, expenditure in 'local is the preference'. 80 per cent companies have indicated a preference for location where they are present (as defined in their CSR policy), 88 per cent companies have implemented projects in the locality of their presence (neighborhood).It is also significant to note that 62 per cent companies have women in the CSR committee, as against only 53 per cent in 2016-17. While this does not speak for an equal gender representation, the process itself is finding realization.

It is significant to note that, during the pandemic (COVID-19), corporates dedicated huge amounts of money towards CSR. This necessitates an evaluation whether various activities undertaken by companies in India qualify to be CSR activities. Accordingly,the Ministry of Corporate Affairs (MCA), issued clarifications in the form of Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) and provided much required guidance around various aspects of COVID-19 related activities undertaken by

companies. Ministry of Corporate Affairs (MCA) clarifed that spending of funds for COVID-19 relief would be a permissible activity under CSR. Again, the MCA advised that the activities should be interpreted liberally so as to capture the essence of the activities permitted under the Schedule. The government has also set up the 'Prime Minister's Citizen Assistance and Relief in Emergency Situations Fund' (PM CARES) to respond to the COVID-19 crisis and provide relief to those affected. Further, Schedule VII was amended to include contributions to PM CARES as CSR along with the existing Prime Minister's National Relief Fund. Tapping into its vast network and relationships, Invest India set up a CSR specifc assistance cell to assist corporates to channel their CSR funding into various governmental and non-governmental organisations as well as central and state-level funds set up for the specifc task of COVID-19 relief. To support contributions to relief funds across both the centre and states, Invest India created an online repository of 30+ relief funds as well as developed a pipeline of INR 163 Cr in donations and CSR contributions from corporates. This enabled corporates and volunteers to locate and connect with organisations needing monetary or other support in their activities. Another key enablement function for Invest India's COVID-19 response was the facilitation of donations of essential supplies, over 10,86,100 pieces of PPEs, critical care equipment and other commodities to frontline organisations. Thus, CSR played a significant role in mobilizing financial support and resources during the Covid-19 crisis. India CSR outlook report 2020 highlights that 46% of the corporates (considered for the survey) spent more than their CSR budget.

One also finds a change in terminology used by KPMG in the subsequent years, with it producing a survey on sustainability reporting (2020), corporate citizenship repot (2020-21). Reflecting the continued dialogue on the conceptualization of corporates role and position with respect to social welfare as presented in the previous section.

With the broad overview of the construction of meaning with respect to CSR and the history of CSR in India one moves on to specific programmatic focus with respect to water an food. Within food there is a specific focus on women's agency and empowerment considered within the research.

Corporate Social Responsibility, through the lens of water

On 28 July 2010 the United Nations General Assembly through Resolution A/RES/64/292 declared safe and clean drinking water and sanitation a human right essential to the full enjoyment of life and all other human rights. In November 2002, the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted its general comment No. 15 on the right to water stating that: "The human right to water entitles everyone to sufficient, safe, acceptable, physically accessible and affordable water for personal and domestic uses." Facilities and services must be available and affordable for everyone, even the poorest. People are expected to contribute financially or otherwise to the extent that they can do so. The costs for water and sanitation services should not exceed 5% of a household's income, meaning services must not affect peoples' capacity to acquire other essential goods and services, including food, housing, health services and education. The water required for personal or domestic use must be safe, therefore free from micro-organisms, chemical substances and radiological hazards that constitute a threat to health. (Human Right to Water and Sanitation media brief, 2015). A country is in violation of the right if not all its people have access to water and sanitation. The right entitles everyone to sufficient water for personal and domestic uses and is to be realised in a sustainable manner for present and future generations. The right entitles everyone to a household connection. The right requires that a State take steps to the maximum of available resources to progressively realise the right.

Over view of water crisis

Poor sanitation, water and hygiene can have serious repercussions on healthcare, education and the economy. (WHO, 2010). Water shortage affects one in three people on every continent. About 19 million people from Europe have no access to protected source of drinking water. Every day around 3900 children die because of dirty water and living conditions with poor hygiene. (World Health Organization, 2005). Together, unclean water and poor sanitation are the world's second biggest killer of children. It has been calculated that 443 million school days are lost each year to water-related illness. (UNDP. Human Development Report 2006). [(The) Right to Water, Fact Sheet No. 35. 2010] Inadequate sanitation, poor hygiene and unsafe drinking water contribute to 88% of diarrhoeal disease. [WHO.Global Health Risks: Mortality and Burden of Disease Attributable to Selected Major Risks. 2009]. India loses up to $600 million on medical treatment

and lost production and 73 million working days are lost each year due to waterborne diseases. (Wash, 2015-16). 76 million do not have access to improved water sources. The inability to access improved sources of drinking water leaves 97 million people in India vulnerable to many communicable diseases that are spread through ingesting unsafe water. An emerging body of research on malnutrition also suggests that the root cause of stunting in India may be due to an abundance of human waste polluting soil and water, rather than food scarcity.

Water a global risk

Water is now one of the highest global risks, according to the ninth edition of the Global Risk Report, released in early 2014 by the World Economic Forum. The sustainable management of water becomes a necessity both for the public authorities and for companies, especially industrial endeavors as a major chunk of their activities depends on water. (Barjoveanu et al. 2013). Water is used by many industries as an input, like all other inputs during the process of production. It is used as a raw material, cleaning agent, or for obtaining other raw materials, as a cooling agent and so on. Makower (2014) suggests that 'companies, communities and countries are coming to recognize that water is increasingly being paired with the words crisis or risk','water scarcity' is being identified as 'ten global sustainability megaforces' that it 'believes will impact every business over the next two decades.' KPMG (2012), for example, claims 'businesses may well be vulnerable to water shortages, declines in water quality, water price volatility and to reputational challenges' and that 'growth could be compromised and conflicts over water supplies may create a security risk to business operations.'

CSE report of 2004 points out that, in India, the demand for water depends, among other factors, on the demand for the final products and hence is a derived demand. The relationship between inputs and the final products is explained by the economic theory of production. It provides a useful framework for examining industrial water use and its sensitivity to the prices that is, its elasticity1 (Spulber and Sabbaghi 1994; Renzetti 2002; and Kumar 2006) Moreover, the industrial sector may have substantially more choice over some aspects of water use than typical households, and may have ready availability of different qualities of water, including intake water, water recycling, treatment of water prior to use, and water discharge. However, the price of water that a firm pays for its use determines the demand for it to a large extent. Poor water pricing is one of

the main reasons for its inefficient use by the industrial sector. As a result, from an economic viewpoint, excessive quantities of water are used, and excessive pollution is caused. Goldar (2003) finds that on average industry pays just Rs 1.94 (0.025 $) per kilolitre. The total water used by Industry in India is calculated to be around 7 to 8 per cent, however the wastewater discharged from industries further pollutes about 5–8 liters of water which raises the share of industrial water use to somewhere between 35–50 per cent. (2004) According to the Dublin Principles, "water is an economic value and must be recognized as an economic good." (International Conference on Water and the Environment -ICWE, 1992).

Corporate Sustainability

Ernst Young and Green Biz (2012) argue that with focus on corporate brand reputation 'over the past 2 decades corporate sustainability efforts have shifted from a risk based compliance focus where rudimentary, voluntary, sometimes haphazard initiatives have evolved into a complex and disciplined business imperative focused on customer and stakeholder requirements.' This has been propelled by need to comply with a growing volume of environmental and social legislation and regulation; concerns about the cost and scarcity of natural resources; greater public and shareholder awareness of the importance of socially conscious financial investments; the growing media coverage of the activities of a wide range of anti-corporate pressure groups; and more general changes in social attitudes and values within modern capitalist societies.

Corporate social responsibility and sustainability are closely entwined. CSR Quest, 2014- The term 'corporate sustainability' is now in widespread use within the business world. Corporate sustainability is concerned with *'companies contributing effectively to a global partnership for sustainable development. It is about companies delivering wide societal value including support for health and human rights improvements, regional development and fair globalisation and respecting the environment by promoting technologies to reduce the emission of greenhouse gases and by implementing effective environmental risk management'* (CSR Quest, 2014). More generally corporate sustainability has been defined 'as *the discipline by which companies align decision-making about the allocation of capital, product development, brand and sourcing with the principles of sustainable development, in a resource constrained world*' (Global Association of Corporate Sustainability Officers 2011). The Alliance of Water Stewardship (2013) defines

water stewardship as *'the use of water that is socially equitable, environmentally sustainable and economically beneficial, achieved through stakeholder-inclusive process that involves site and catchment based activities.'* Hepworth and Orr (2013) make a clear distinction between integrated water resource management and water stewardship. The former being *'actions by an authority mandated by the state (within which ownership of the resource is vested by law) to manage water resources on behalf of all water users'* whereas water stewardship is about *'private actors increasingly involving themselves in the management of the common pool-public good regarding water'* (Hepworth and Orr, 2013).

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) needs to be understood in terms of universal domains, and yet it needs to incorporates the flexibility and adaptability demanded by international research. A study by *Jones, Comfort, and Hillier* Water Stewardship and Corporate Sustainability **(***2014) talk about the* extent to which some of the world's major companies are publicly addressing water stewardship as part of their corporate sustainability reporting. The top twelve 'Consumer Super brands' in 2014 namely British Airways, Rolex, Coca-Cola, British Broadcasting Company, Heinz, Microsoft, Google Gillette (Proctor and Gamble), Kellogg's, BMW, Cadbury (Mondelez International), Andrex (Halyard) were analyzed. Within the sustainability reports a range of water stewardship issues are addressed, albeit indifferent measure, including strategic commitment; efficiency and reduction in water use and recycling; employee engagement; water risks; water resource management and conservation; drainage and flood defences; and employee and community engagement.

In companies approach is primarily constructed around business efficiency and concerns about business continuity. The dominant concern is to reduce the volume, and improve the efficiency, of water consumption which not only helps to safeguard current and future operations but also to reduce costs. As such the water stewardship is driven as much by business imperatives as by commitments to environmental sustainability.

Generally the accent on providing a simple narrative of their water stewardship initiatives and programmes, sometimes illustrated with basic descriptive statistics and micro case studies with pictures and simple diagrams being widely used to illustrate broad themes which makes it difficult

not only to make any meaningful comparisons between one company and another but also to assess the contribution that these companies are making towards water stewardship at regional, national and international levels. Further, few companies provide evidence of independent external assurance of the information on water stewardship posted on their corporate websites. The widespread lack of independent external assurance can be seen to undermine the transparency, reliability and integrity of the sustainability information posted.

Further, a number of the selected companies have sought to harness technological solutions and to promote the diffusion of environmentally friendly technologies, as an integral part of their approach to water stewardship. Schor (2005) has suggested that not only do 'advocates of technological solutions argue that more intelligent design and technological innovation can dramatically reduce, or even stop the depletion of ecological resources' but also that 'the popularity of technological solutions is also attributable to the fact that they are apolitical, and do not challenge macrostructures of production and consumption.' However this is challenged by competing arguments like that provided by Huesemann (200) who points out that leaders have promoted the concept of eco-efficiency in order 'to ensure that continued economic growth and environmental protection can go hand in hand' but argued that 'improvements in eco-efficiency alone will not guarantee a reduction in the total environmental impact if economic growth is allowed to continue.' Looking to the future Huesemann (2003) further argued that unless growth in consumption is restrained 'technological improvements only delay the onset of negative consequences that as a result, will have increased in severity, thereby reducing our freedom to choose satisfying solutions.'

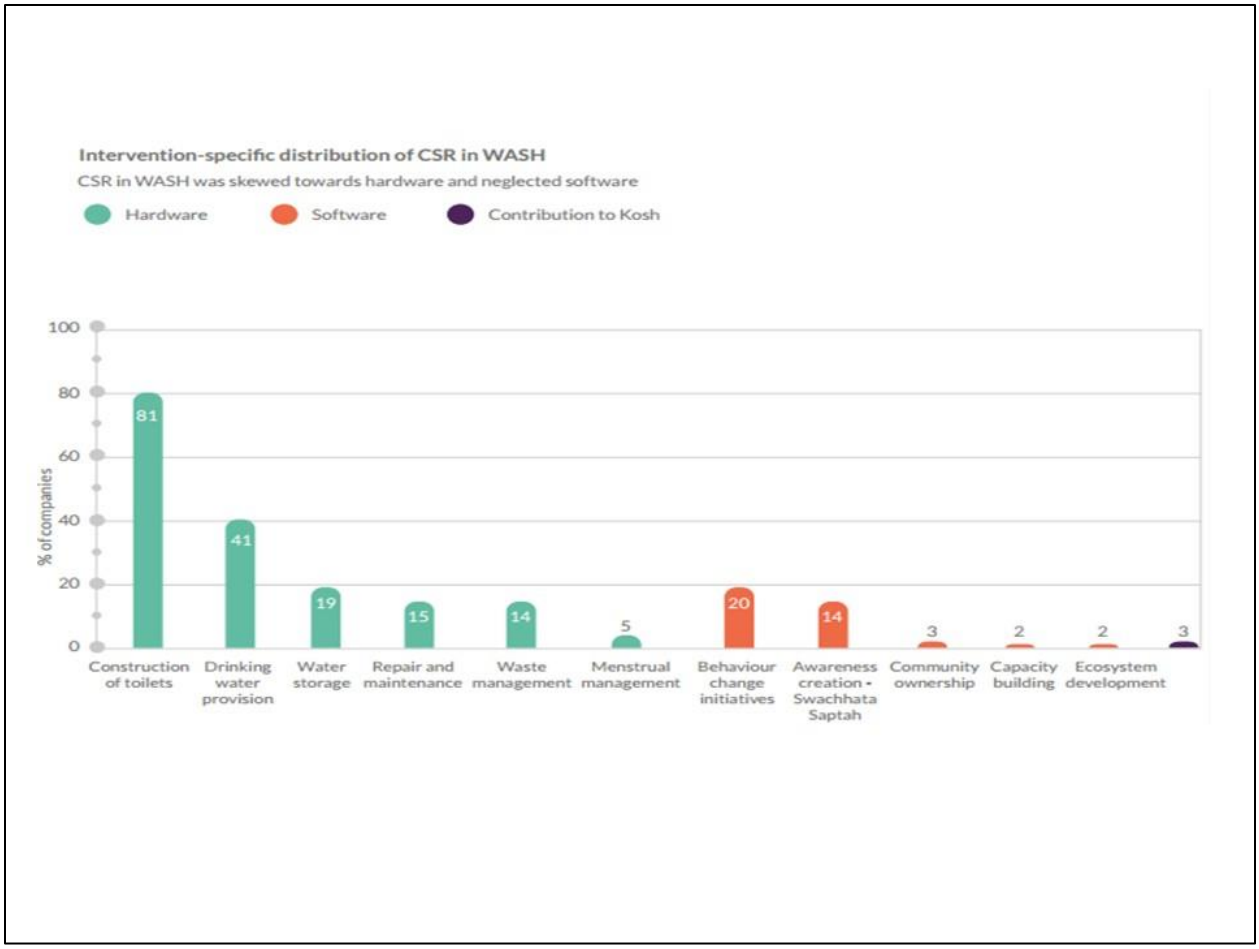
Lambooy, 2011 specifies that legislation and policies on how water is managed vary from country to country, thereby distinguishing between the management of waste water, freshwater consumption and ground water control. In addition to these, different types of industries have different impacts on water and it is often difficult to link changes in the environment in a direct way to the water consumption of one enterprise. Additionally, complications arise when multinational companies are operating in weak governance zones. Their responsibility seems to grow in weak governance zones or where the access to freshwater is under pressure due to water scarcity. On the contrary, in countries with effective water management authority, companies

might bear less legal responsibility for environmental consequences of their water use. However, a Dutch research study of 20 MNCs suggests that corporate social responsibility (CSR) can have a significant impact on the sustainability of freshwater supply in countries with weak governance regimes. One of the ways in which CSR has been involved in water management is through WASH.

CSR involvement in Wash

Global development agencies use the acronym WASH to refer to the three interrelated public health areas that require urgent attention – water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH). It has been three years since India's CSR mandate has come into being and CSR has certainly started seeing greater participation. Corporate India responded enthusiastically to the Government's call-to-action on WASH. The Swach Bharat programme which propelled dialogue towards 30% of CSR spend to be made mandatory for Swachh Bharat has motivated most corporates towards the cause of water and sanitation.

Corporate sustainability reports, are now speaking of water at two levels – as part of CSR initiatives for communities and as part of company operations. Research among the top 100 Corporates in India by Smthita shows that 90% of companies reported at least one CSR intervention. Despite significant corporate interest and participation in WASH, very little is known about a company's approach, the nature of their interventions and the barriers they face. Only 33 companies published information on the financial outlays and budgets of their CSR programs, while their information on the specifics of the programmes remained unclear.



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41% of companies focussed on providing facilities for clean drinking water, though only 19% provided water storage facilities. Evidence from the field has shown that water purifiers donated by companies to schools and communities as part of their CSR are often nonfunctional due to inadequate maintenance. CSR in WASH is focused on the creation of infrastructure, but discounts software aspects such as behaviour change. 75% companies were supporting programs related to creating infrastructure, such as the construction of toilets and water facilities. Underlying reasons for this could include perceiving behaviour change programs as highrisk due to difficulties quantifying and measuring impact, the long gestation period required and a lack of knowledge combined with construction-oriented targets defined by the Government. Only 15% of companies reported incorporating the repair and maintenance as a part of their CSR initiatives. 20% of companies reported integrating Behaviour change communication (BCC) into their programs.

Heavy Engineering and Manufacturing and Fast Moving Consumer Goods (FMCG) companies were more likely to support WASH programs than other industries. This higher level of interest can be explained by the strategic importance of WASH to both these industries – FMCG companies have products such as soaps, disinfectants and sanitizers that are closely aligned to the WASH agenda and were most likely to conduct programs aimed at influencing behaviour and attitude. Heavy Engineering and Manufacturing companies have an incentive to provide facilities for communities residing around their factories as well as the resources to construct these facilities.

Under the WASH programme the current research focused on CSR with relation to drinking water of three corporates-

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), between 50 and 100 litres of water per person per day are needed to ensure that most basic needs are met and few health concerns arise. Most people need at least 2 litres of safe water per capita per day for food preparation. WHO (The right to water. 2003)

Understanding the interphase between CSR and Drinking water in the Delhi NCR area

In the area of health the research was motivated by an article in the New York Times questioning 'Why are Indian children so much more malnourished than their poorer counterparts in sub-Saharan Africa?[1]', stating that 162 million children under the age of 5 in the world who are malnourished are suffering less a lack of food than poor sanitation, and such is the case in India. I thus decided to focus my research on the function of drinking water within the preview of health. Global development agencies use the acronym WASH to refer to the three interrelated public health areas that require urgent attention – water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH). Corporate India has responded enthusiastically to the Government's call-to-action on WASH. The Swach Bharat programme which propelled dialogue towards 30% of CSR spend to be made mandatory for Swachh Bharat has motivated most corporates towards the cause of water and sanitation. In this the research has focused on Corporates that have taken an initiative in facilitating drinking water, in the urban spaces of Delhi and NCR. Water collection and storage has direct association with

[1] https://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/15/world/asia/poor-sanitation-in-india-may-afflict-well-fed-children-with-malnutrition.html

gender role, and their availability linked with women's empowerment in terms of time spent in water management. In addition to this certain corporates have included women in the management of water dispensing system creating an social endeavor for self-help groups and employability. Thus, the focus of the research was these two areas in the first two areas of research.

Corporate Social Responsibility in India has seen a number of initiatives on water in collaborative partnerships. India has been facilitating the provision for drinking water in various parts of the country with the help of Water ATMs in public spaces. The Delhi Jal Board (DJB) has been trying to facilitate the provision of drinking water, within the metropolis by collaborating with various Corporates like Parimal Foundation and Tata Power. Maruti Suzuki India Limited (MSIL) has furthered this initiative in Manesar and Gurgaon. The present study focuses on this aspect of CSR looking provision of drinking water in public spaces, within Delhi and NCR, with reference to health and larger global scenario. The research is focused on understanding the practical everyday aspects of a drinking water, looking at specific field areas that include-

Fieldwork has been conducted without or outside of the corporate influence, in order to understand the people of the field/ the community or what is commonly known as the 'adopted'.

a) Savda Ghevra Juggi Jhopdi Colony, observing the functioning and use of water ATM, under 'Sarvajal', an initiative by Piramal Foundation. (15th May to 15th July 2018 and January 2019 to April 2019)

Sarvajal, a brand of Piramal Water Private Limited, supplies drinking water across cities, towns and villages in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, Delhi and Maharashtra. Sarvajal (meaning "water for all" in Sanskrit) was seeded by Piramal Foundation in 2008. It started operating water ATMs in Savda Ghevra from January 2014.

Savda Ghevra, which started off as a resettlement colony to take the ugliness of jhuggi-jhopri (JJ) clusters out of Delhi in pre-Commonwealth Games days. settlers were allotted small plots of land and hustled here in 2006. Basic amenities, however, remained missing with no electric poles, sewage system, or proper drinking water supply. The residents had to go to the nearby Ghevra village to fetch water. But the local Jat community there was not friendly and water frequently led to squabbles between villagers and their new neighbours. Slowly, Delhi Jal

Board (DJB) tankers started coming to the area, providing some relief to the residents. But the water supplied by the tankers was neither sufficient to meet the daily requirements of Savda Ghevra residents, nor was it always of potable quality. People started installing submersible pumps to draw groundwater. But groundwater was too saline to drink.

In 2012, DJB began considering a proposal to supply drinking water through a pay-and-use water ATM scheme. In February 2012, it floated a tender to decentralise drinking water in urban areas. Sarvajal, which had had some prior experience in providing clean drinking water, won the tender the with a cost of '40-lakh for the project and 18 months for its completion. Water was now available at water ATM through prepaid smart cards.

Findings from the field

a) Disconnect between the drinking water source and everyday life-
    i. Does not necessarily fit the felt need. Drinking water for health needs is not necessarily priority.
    ii. Disjunct between earning and expected expense on water.
    iii. People see no harm in consuming the water they have been already drinking.
    iv. Issues of taste, with sliding reference to water quality.
    v. Additional time and initiative to fill drinking water, even if it is available at all times
b) Hinders the right to direct household connection of water.

Business initiatives to support sustainable water management include voluntary codes and assessment tools, were corporates are actively working towards reducing their water footprint. The use of water ATMs however gives rise to significant environmental sustainability issues, where the water ATMs uses ground water as their key water source. The research hopes to explore this, along with the increasing commodification/capitalisation of a public good, by putting a price on drinking water.

Elias (1994) argued, humans have established different forms of control over a) the nonhuman world, over b) interhuman interactions, and over c) intrahuman (the self, including the body) processes.

Specific mechanisms of control are usually intended to achieve certain results, as in

a) the building of dams to prevent flooding, to secure the provision of freshwater for domestic uses and irrigation or to generate hydroenergy,
b) the establishment of norms and institutions to regulate the ways in which humans govern and use water for different purposes from the satisfaction of their basic needs to the large scale production and consumption of water based goods and services, and in
c) the evolving forms of control over our own selves associated with the individualization process, such as ever more elaborated water based hygiene and bodily care (Elias, 1994: 252).

However, increases in human control also lead to unintended, unforeseen, and often uncontrollable increases in human dependence and to the development of original forms of social interaction at all levels (Goudsblom, 1992; De Vries and Goudsblom, 2002). The transgenerational mortgage commitments acquired to maintain and expand the water infrastructures that protect and make human life viable (e.g. Elvin, 1994: 4; McNeill, 2000: 190–191) or through the institutional arrangements that often become structural conditions and emerge as inertial forces that influence or even determine individual and collective behaviour in relation to the government, regulation, and uses of water sources and services (Castro, 2009).

Theprovision of water ATMS in places like Savda Ghevra leads to a larger question of privatisation of essential services.

“Detractors feel once water becomes a commodity, it changes from being a social resource to a commercial or tradable resource. Under such circumstances, water systems start transforming into market operations. This means those who cannot afford to pay for it will be thrown out or pushed to the periphery of the system. Given the number of poor people in India, commoditisation of water could have serious consequences.

Shripad Dharmadhikary, an activist and researcher who works on water-related issues and is

associated with Manthan Adhyayan Kendra, said, “Water for basic services, including cooking and other domestic needs, for cattle and livelihood, and food security, is part of the social obligation of the state and should be ensured to everyone regardless of their ability to pay.”” https://www.governancenow.com/news/regular-story/delhi-experiments-water-atms-reignites-debate.

While the debates on the larger front on privatization of drinking water continues and the necessity of basic infrastructural facility continues in Savda Ghevra. The residents of the JJ colony already have in their recent memories an uprooting from their spaces at the time of the common wealth games continue to struggle with the meeting of their everyday needs, including creating financial wherewithal to acquire drinking water. They remain far removed from the dialogues on their needs and requirement, or any form of right, ownership, custodianship or with regards to the initiative.

The research then move on to a food related CSR initiative were the community undertook the custodianship of the CSR project, and had significant women’s participation in the same.

Exploratory study of a Woman’s WhatsApp group: Understanding the significance of the Virtual Space as a continuation of the Physical Space

My foray into the WhatsApp space as a researcher was in the latter half of 2019 with regard to a Corporate Social Responsibility initiative by Zomato (Feeding India project), called ‘HAPPY FRIDGE’. A Happy Fridge was installed in the Housing complex, in the mid of 2019. The belief was of providing food with dignity. The concept was to put leftover food from the household into the fridge placed in a common area, and the help or any one in need of food could then take the food without anyone knowing about it. I was studying the Happy Fridge in the physical space when I found its continuity into the virtual space. Food and kitchen being the domain of women in Indian household, I found that the WhatsApp group was effectively used to mobilize women to contribute to the fridge. The admin of the group would mention that lets all put a potato each in the happy fridge tomorrow and this idea would be welcome with thumbs up 👍 emoji by various women, similarly some days were assigned for fruits or rice and so on. As the significance of the WhatsApp group cane into focus with respect to this CSR initiative, the research explored a

women's whatsapp group of more than two hundred and fifty members, from within an urban gated community. Looking at how social networking comes together in an online space, the research tries to understand the relevance of this 'women's helpline' in terms of leadership, business aspirations, information dissemination, voicing of opinion, charitable endeavors, support and conflict, policing and control, health and happiness and so on. The research has taken a much broader reflection as a continuation of my research on Corporate social responsibility (health, food security and women's empowerment) and the physical and virtual space and its continuum of the woman's group and the gated community in general.

Back ground on Happy Fridge

UN recognises that there is a deeply unjust disconnect between food availability and quality in different parts of the world. One third of all food produced gets lost or goes to waste, that's enough to feed all of the world's hungry four times over. Though it is needless to draw support from numbers to visualise or accentuate Inida's lack of food security, it becomes a stark reality being at 103rd rank in the Global Hunger Index with a food wastage estimate of around Rs 58,000 crore. In this scenario, Zomato in its Corporate social Responsibility endeavor has collaborated with an NGO (non government organisation) 'Feeding India', is working towards reducing household waste by providing community refrigerators known as 'happy fridge'. It works on the principal that good Samaritans leave food and fruits in the refrigerator and anyone in need can immediately and anonymously access this food. The NGO has set up 500 fridges across 100 cities in India to provide food to those who can't afford it.

The research in brief

The present research is an ethnographic study of a community supporting a 'happy fridge'. It is based on embedded research as a part of the community, and effectively uses participant observation, informal and formal interactions and interviews to understand an object as the centre of a social phenomenon. The research brings forth a gendered perspective in terms of women's initiative, social awareness and goodwill, peer pressure, digital and social networking and a slightly realistic gap between intention and practice, reflecting on constructive motivation. The research reflects on whether or not the empowerment is restricted to the women's socio-cultural

space of the home and hearth as well as whether the control over this socio-cultural domain lends thrust to empowerment itself.

Miller and Slater's work (2000), *The Internet: An ethnographic approach*. Through their work in Trinidad they pointed out that, contrary to the expectations, uses of the Internet are not opposed to "traditional" or "real" forms of relationship, especially kinship, and conclude that online and offline worlds penetrate each other deeply and in complex ways. Taking from this and the unique situations created by the covid-19 pandemic I extend my research to understand the WhatsApp group as an ethnographic space, in continuation of the physical world .

Objectives of the study

- To understand the role of the WhatsApp group in the promotion of the 'happy fridge' and how reflections of the happy fridge in terms of an urban symbol.
- How the concept of hearth as a woman's domain reflects as an empowerment in the urban scenario.
- Exploratory understanding WhatsApp as a part of a social process; of collaboration and support as well as conflict and resolutions and so on.
- Exploratory understanding WhatsApp as gendered domain.

Research Methodology

The research is a multi-sited ethnography, where meaning and relevance's are generated at different sites both virtual and physical, that influence as well as find cognisance in an interconnected world. However, my key focus remains content analysis of the whattsapp group. Needless to say, space is a rich source of information, with time-stamped archival data, and well documented processual events, rich in narratives, emotional expression, and real time experiences. The research is an embedded ethnographic experience of learning, observation, analysis and interpretation. Other than the WhatsApp group the research was initiated through informal conversations with the women of the community, the unskilled workers and domestic help visiting the housing complex who were expected to be the main beneficiaries of the happy fridge. Taking regular photographs of the happy fridge for a period of 6 months, from the time of its installation to the end of 2019.

Key findings

- The ‘Happy fridge’ had instructions on how the food has to be processed in terms of its brown bagging, labeling in terms of the date when it was cooked. Packed properly with the food not being older than a particular day. This was a rather western concept, that women found rather alien. They initially shied away from putting anything in the happy fridge due to all these requirements. Later when the happy fridge started seeing contributions, these rules were not followed. There were times when food was kept in disposable plastic containers with food spilling over.
- Women of the household often cordial relationship with their domestic help. Asny leftover food of the day is passed on to the household help to both prevent wastage, do a good deed for the day as well as incur favour from the help to get some extra work done. Thus, there was little food left over for the happy fridge.
- There were times when someone would write in the WhatsApp group to say that they had left some food item (eg. Milk) in the happy fridge and that the domestic helps could be informed, so they might access it. The women would inform the household help would be in a false position if item had been removed already been removed and was not available to her help.
- Left to the residents of the housing complex the fridge did not see very much food, or good quality food. Motivation drives were created through WhatsApp to get women to contribute to the fridge. It would be one fruit a day, or a vegetable, or even a packet of dry grains. While some of this worked, it was evident from the efforts that the fridge took more of a symbolic representation of women’s philanthropic motivation and its prescribed purpose. This is especially noticeable form the fact that dry grains didn’t really need a fridge to be stared.
- Additionally, other philanthropic endeavors partnering NGOs also found a mention of the ‘happy fridge’, where in cloths and books for donation were to be placed near the Happy fridge. Thus, for the community who were the custodians of the happy fridge, it moved towards a symbolic representation of urban social status as philanthropists with the main force behind it being women. It also fulfilled its intended purpose however, it did not necessarily reach its projected capacity as conceived under the CSR Project.

Conclusion

Within CSR, definitional, conceptual, and methodological complexity has made cross-cultural, empirical studies rather difficult to conduct. Instead, researchers have tended to focus on conceptual pieces, localized qualitative (i.e., case) studies, or quantitative evaluations of firms within a single country. Multilevel and multi-method studies are noticeably missing, despite an overt academic call for a greater diversity of methods to capture the range of interests in the CSR field (e.g., Gephart 1991).

CSR forms a vibrant area of enquiry as a complex phenomenon involving both global and local influences through and with multiple actors. Samiee and Athanasius, (1998) point out that "the relevance and validity of constructs [such as CSR] are open to question once they are transferred to international settings". Research has demonstrated that different cultures emphasize different aspects of CSR (e.g., Environics 2000), and therefore are likely to have varying expectations of the same corporation. Arthaud-Day (2005) propose a typology that is tridimensional in nature, incorporating three key aspects of CSR in an international context:

- Strategic orientation- whether an MNC approaches business and therefore CSR from a global, multinational, "international," or transnational framework
- Content domain focusing attention on human rights, labor, and the environment as three areas dominating current international CSR literature
- Perspective whether MNC activities are evaluated on an ideological (what the firm's managers think it should be doing), operational (what the firm is actually doing), or societal (what external stakeholders expect or perceive the firm to be doing) basis.

While the tri-dimentional model looks comprehensive, one has to realize that topic of local itself branches out into a multilayered panorama. The operational aspects of the corporate includes a myriad of areas of enquiry including employee volunteerism and philanthropy, corporate governance, workplace issues and education and training, economic impact of business operations, health and safety, relationship with government agencies, supplier and customer relations, environmental and social reporting, transparency and communication and so on. The content domain which is so neatly grouped into three topics subsequently branch off into various areas of

concern for eg. environmental responsibility branches off into issues of pollution abatement, environmental conservation and restoration and so forth. Further, none of these aspects of CSR work in isolation but as a kaleidoscopic design of permutation and combinations.

Understanding CSR works at different levels consisting of a range of enquiries that include the conceptualizing and interpretation of CSR by different actors, to partnerships and their dynamics, the areas of concern for CSR and the framing of related programmes, the process of implementation, the acceptance, assimilation and interpretation of CSR by the beneficiary community and the resulting effect. Anthropologists have largely provided theoretical and policy studies of grassroots development projects, however their methodological propensity of holistic insight and in-depth studies makes them the right candidate for research in the area of CSR. This is usually easier said than done, as the anthropologists are right now in the position of the 'other', where corporates are skeptical of the intrusive nature of the discipline. Further, there is usually a communication gap between the two as the corporates begin with trying to understand the outcome of the research and how it will benefit them, and the anthropologists always remains ethically conscious of promising an outcome before conducting the research. This also echoes in the power dynamics between the corporate and the anthropologist, where the corporate wants to retain all rights over public communication related to its activities. It is indeed necessary for the anthropologist to find common grounds of communication with the corporate.

Anthropology is in a unique position in the arena of CSR where it moves between its classical ethnographic training of an ethno-specific field-site to explorations at the level of different philosophies, disciplines, discourses, ethnographic sites; constantly debating with the idea of who constitutes the 'other'; and zooming in and out of the relative scope of global and local. In this the larger perspective that this research gains leads me to this conclusion.

The projections and possibilities expressed under the CSR initiative often misses its proposed mark, both in case of the water ATM and Happy fridge, one finds that the programmes are often top down and are planned at the conceptual level and doesnot take the community into confidence at the level of planning. This certainly leads to a disjunct between the expectation of the CSR project by the proponents of the programme itself. In case of the water ATM, inspite of the DJB providing an essential solution for the requirement of drinking water, there is significant need to

reflect on the buying power of the targeted population. It also leads to important questions like privatization of essential commodities as well as depletion of essential resources like excessing tapping of ground water. In case of the Happy fridge, there is substantial initiative from the community in which it is installed, and the community becomes the custodial pf the project however the cultural edifies is such that there is a need to rethink the approach to the project. I stand by my hypothesis that success of CSR lies in the community taking a right based approach towards the understanding and implementation of CSR. It is important to have their involvement in every step of programme planning, the necessity of the involvement of what is understood as the ‘target population’ or ‘the grassroot level stakeholder’ and their right to decision making needs to be a part of the definition and conceptualization of CSR.

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Other Academic Activities

(Section II)

A. Publications

1. 'Anthropology in Advocacy, Policy Research', Unit 6 Block-2: Anthropologists in the Field, IGNOU Course: Anthropology in Practice for offer to students of BA (hons.) 2022. ISBN: 978-93-5568-326-7 http://egyankosh.ac.in//handle/123456789/84434
2. 'Anthropology and Development', Unit 2, Block-2: Anthropologists in the Field, IGNOU Course: Anthropology in Practice for offer to students of BA (hons.). 2022. ISBN: 978-93-5568-326-7 http://egyankosh.ac.in//handle/123456789/84431
3. 'Contributions of biosocial anthropologists in India', Unit 8, Biosocial Anthropology in Practice. for offer to students of BA (hons.). 2022. ISBN: 978-93-5568-326-7 http://egyankosh.ac.in//handle/123456789/84440
4. 'Contemporary Urban Concerns', Unit 11, Block 4: Global Concerns In Urban Growth, for offer to students of BA. 2022. http://egyankosh.ac.in//handle/123456789/85613
5. 'Census and Survey' in IGNOU Course Research Methods II for offer to students of BA Sociology. 2022. http://egyankosh.ac.in//handle/123456789/88606
6. 'Religion and Society among the Coorgs- M.N. Srinivas', Unit 08, For BSOE-144: Reading Ethnographies of B.A CBCS Programme. 2022. http://egyankosh.ac.in//handle/123456789/83676
7. 'Culture area theories' in IGNOU Course Emergence of Anthropology for offer to students of BA (hons.), June 2021. ISBN: 978-93-5568-069-3. 2022. http://egyankosh.ac.in//handle/123456789/76575
8. 'Historical Particularism and Critique of Comparative Method ' in IGNOU Course Emergence of Fieldwork Tradition for offer to students of BA (hons.), June 2021. ISBN: 978-93-5568-069-3. http://egyankosh.ac.in//handle/123456789/76577
9. 'Applied Anthropology and Development' in IGNOU Course Applied Anthropology for offer to students of BA (General) July 2021, ISBN: 978-93-5568-202-4. http://egyankosh.ac.in//handle/123456789/77014

10. ‘Applied Anthropology and Market ' in IGNOU Course Applied Anthropology for offer to students of BA (General) July 2021, ISBN: 978-93-5568-202-4. http://egyankosh.ac.in//handle/123456789/77015
11. ‘Applied Anthropology and Multimedia ' in IGNOU Course Applied Anthropology for offer to students of BA (General) July 2021, ISBN: 978-93-5568-202-4. http://egyankosh.ac.in//handle/123456789/77021
12. ‘Capacity Development' in IGNOU Course Applied Anthropology for offer to students of BA (General) July 2021, ISBN: 978-93-5568-202-4. http://egyankosh.ac.in//handle/123456789/77026
13. Exploring Corporate Social Responsibility: An Indian Perspective, Development of Complete MOOCs in 4 Quadrants, UGC-Human Resource Development Center (2019). https://archive.swayam.gov.in/courses/5298- anthropology.
14. ‘New Realms of Anthropological Exploration: Methodological Reflections on CSR and HIV/AIDS’. In Issues and Perspectives in Anthropology. (ed) Sinha. (2019) ISBN-978-81-316-0875-3.
15. ‘Towards Anthropology of Corporate Social Responsibility in India’ in The Oriental Anthropologist (2018) 18:2, 223-244. *ISSN*: 0972558X. https://doi.org/10.1177/0976343020180204

B. Panel Organized at International Conference

1. 17th EASA Biennial Conference from 26 to 29 July 2022 in Belfast, United Kingdom [Proposed and accepted during the PDF Period].

Panel- (Un)Gendered Experiences in the Virtual Space

Short Abstract- The panel explores researches on the spectrum of gendered realities in the virtual space and their interplay, ranging from the ungendered to gender fluid/transitional; to gender related constructs, solidarities, biases/toxicity; to gender performativity and gender continuities of the physical space.

Long Abstract- Gender translates in the virtual space into dynamic realities, based on its participants, audiences; intra-action and interaction; inclusions and exclusions; activities and practices related to usage; social arrangements and organisational forms surrounding usage; and so on. The participation which is otherwise devoid of a physical form provides for explorations in terms of identities that are beyond normative, and might be gender fluid or transitional. Inspite of this the participation is not outside of the socio/cultural/political backdrop of the participants themselves, and the associated materiality includes related gender constructs, solidarities, affirmative action, stereotypes, biases, and toxicity. At one end is a possibility of the creation of forms devoid of gendered embodiment, while at the other end one finds continuities and reproduction of the gender dynamics of the physical world. Gender performativity as a continuation between the physical and virtual space makes for an equally interesting area of exploration. These gendered nuances are in interplay with each other as well as myriad of activities within the virtual space. The panel thus attempts to create a platform for dialogue between research and research experiences in this area, which is still limited due to the sheer expanse of the virtual space, creating possibilities and opportunities for enhancement of learnings.

2. IUEAS Congress 2022 St, Petersburg, Russia, May 25-31, 2022 [panel was accepted for the conference, before the conference was unfortunately cancelled]

Panel- Biopolitics and the Covid-19 pandemic: Lives of people in South Asia and South-east Asia (supported by IUAES Commission on Anthropology, Public Policy and Development Practice)

Abstract- Movement and mobility are the very essence of contemporary life. The Covid 19 pandemic and its associated fear has demanded a control over mobility from early 2020. This has subsequently given way to a world ridden with biopolitics. The related policies and restriction of movement has affected lives at every juncture of living with these realities being extremely stark in case of marginalized groups. Biopolitics is evident through gendered nuances, age vulnerabilities, criticality of security for basic needs including food, water, shelter, health, and social and psychological support. While the world tries to overcome its waves of fear and continues to reorient itself to the new normals that present themselves each day, policies remain in flux. This presents a distinctive character of inquiry in the South and Southeast Asian Nations owing to their cultural specificity and uniqueness in styles of management. It also provides a landscape of diversity especially with reference to contrasting situations of technological lacunas and innovativeness. In this, the panel takes cognizance of changing policies and ensuing practices with special reference to specific concerns/agendas; learnings/innovative policies and practices at the time of uncertainties; concerns and questions around biopolitics and related policies; social isolation policies creating fractured communication or increased digital interconnectivity; the effect of biopolitics on the people living and experiencing it; agency of local efforts in light of biopolitics both in spite of and in with the policies. The panel hopes to inform and improve future policy through its discourse on lived realities.

3. World Anthropology Pre-Congress held at Lucknow, India on 25th and 26th March 2022

Panel- Anthropology in Practice Beyond Boundaries

The panel was organized in collaboration with Anthropology without borders (India Chapter, under the banner of Indian Anthropological Association). It brought together anthropologists working in the industry and the development sector, within and beyond academics, to hone in on

the multi-disciplinary and multifaceted areas of applicability of Anthropology. It traced the trajectories of anthropological insight being used in different fields by professional anthropologists. Scholars with rich experience of using anthropological theories, concepts and methodology in their profession were brought together on a common platform to share their narratives. The panel intended to deconstruct ways in which contemporary anthropological knowledge is stereotyped leading to innovative recasting in future.

4. IUAES 2020 Sibenik, Croatia March 9- 14, 2021.

Panel- 'The kinship between anthropology and technology: exploring the accelerated interface between the two' [supported by IUAES Commission on Anthropology, Public Policy and Development Practice]

Short Abstract- Anthropology is a system of knowledge and a cultural heritage, which both encapsulates and gets enriched by technology. Simonic (2012) reflecting on technological impacts upon cultural heritage writes- "What used to be reified tradition has increasingly become a dynamic and active heritage that is constantly reinvented and constructed". The panel seeks to capture these dynamics within the discipline of Anthropology, in today's technologically accelerated and interconnected world. The panel at hand endeavours to explore both aspects (Effect of technology on anthropological heritage and effect on 'anthropology of technology') in a continuum from a critical point of view.

The panel proposes a wholistic engagement to reflect upon

- the engagement/kinship of anthropology with technology, its ability to transform the heritage of anthropological knowledge.
- research pertaining to bio-politic engagements with technology and resulting shifts in anthropology of/in technology.
- the innovative infusion of interactive and communication technology in research methods, creation of virtual spaces for collaborations, knowledge sharing and archive creation and access.
- technological mediation in global anthropology as an integrating tool for spatial divides in disciplinary practices.

- the risks, threats and vulnerabilities posed by the increased engagement with technology in the social sphere, in the methodological space and in issues of authority and authorship.
- the ethical questions which are continuously a part of such an engagement and the need for policy incursions for the same within a contextual framework.

Long Abstract- Anthropology is a system of knowledge and a cultural heritage, which both encapsulates and gets enriched by technology. Simonic (2012) reflecting on technological impacts upon cultural heritage writes- "What used to be reified tradition has increasingly become a dynamic and active heritage that is constantly reinvented and constructed". The panel seeks to capture these dynamics within the discipline of Anthropology, in today's technologically accelerated, interconnected world.

Technological developments in contemporary anthropology have certainly galvanized the inquiries of the ever-broadening canvas of humanity (1 billion in 1800 to 7 billion plus in 2020), though it has not been able to integrate the disciplinary divide in academic North and South. Covid-19 pandemic has further necessitated/accelerated our interface with technology and led us to re-evaluating our work culture, teaching pedagogy, research methods and writing, conference and symposia. Anthropologists in the field are encountering technologically mediated self and sociality. Life during pandemic is characterized by enhanced obsession with body, health and overt bio-politics. Social and physical distancing has led to increasingly innovative and interactive modes of interpersonal communication and outreach while it has simultaneously created an outcry towards intrusion and breach of privacy which were hitherto unimagined. This enhanced social engagement with technology which was already an ever-increasing graph has seen a sudden spike permeating all aspects of life, and is a significant phenomenon to take cognisance of. Technology has remained an interest for the discipline of anthropology as both a subject of inquiry and a mode of research but increasingly so in the present context. Technological mediation in global anthropology can be an integrating tool for spatial divides in disciplinary practices. The panel at hand endeavours to explore both aspects (Effect of technology on anthropological heritage and effect on 'anthropology of technology') in a continuum from a critical point of view.

The present panel will reflect upon the engagement/kinship of anthropology with technology, its ability to transform the heritage of anthropological knowledge. It would focus on research pertaining to bio-politic engagements with technology and resulting shifts in anthropology of/in technology. The panel would outline the innovative infusion of interactive and communication technology in research methods, creation of virtual spaces for collaborations, knowledge sharing and archive creation and access.

The panel would simultaneously create a platform to bring to the foreground the risks and threats posed by the increased engagement with technology in the social sphere, in the methodological space and in issues of authority and authorship. It proposes to bring to light the ethical questions which are continuously a part of such an engagement and the need for policy incursions for the same within a contextual framework.

5. IUAES Inter-Congress 2019, at Poznan (27th August – 31st August, 2019).

Panel Title- *Building Intercultural Competency towards Global Citizenship: Anthropological insights on Policy and Practice.* [supported by IUAES Commission on the Anthropology of Public Policy and Development Practice]

Short abstract- The present panel seeks anthropological insights and proposals for action on policy and practice that highlight building intercultural competencies for building bridges, recognising rights and, contributing to the understanding and interpretation of citizenship at a global level.

Long abstract- Worldwide economic interdependence and political lobbying has increased transnational social and cultural interconnectedness. This has however brought forth problems and risks in equal measures along with opportunities and possibilities. Collective concerns of peace and compassion, upholding fundamental dignity, human rights and seeking to clarify ethical and moral obligations transcend national and state borders. There are conversations towards opening national borders at one end while at the other one encounters enumerable local uprisings of shunning and othering. The present age of globalisation finds itself in a conundrum of ideating Global citizenship in a multicultural world which is simultaneously struggling to recognise, establish and maintain cultural and ethnic identities.

The year 2018 marks the 70th Anniversary of the UN Declaration of Human Rights. The panel welcomes anthropologist's perspectives on how far we have reached, and the way forward. A conscious dialogue towards building of intercultural competencies in both policy and practice is imperative in a world order where minorities and marginalised often find themselves in the most disadvantageous position. A recognition of commonalities, socio- cultural interconnections and networks, communication mechanisms as well as possible barriers can go a long way in building bridges, recognising rights and contributing to the understanding and interpretation of citizenship at a global level. The present panel seeks anthropological insights and proposals for action on policy and practice that highlight building intercultural competencies at global, national and local level, with the hope to accumulate positive endeavours from and between various geographies.

C. Papers Presented in National and International conferences

1. ‘Ethnographic reflections through a WhatsApp group: Women’s initiatives during the Covid-19 pandemic, the case of a gated community of Gurgaon, India,’ at 17th EASA Biennial Conference from 26 to 29 July 2022 in Belfast, United Kingdom. [Proposed and accepted during the UGC- PDF Period].

Short abstract- Reflecting on the use of a women’s WhatsApp group as an ethnographic space, the research explores the continuity between the physical space and the virtual space of a gated community of Gurgaon, India, with special reference to women’s initiative during Covid-19.

Long abstract- Gated community is a term that refers to a physical area that is fenced or walled off from its surroundings [Landman, 2000], they are closed urban residential areas where public space is legally privatized and access becomes restricted with different level of security, special life style, and residents with the same socio-economic class. The Covid-19 pandemic brought a scenario where the very wall that was raised for protection and security became the walls for confinement, restricting flow of individuals and resources not only from the outside to the inside of the community, but also within it and outwards. The present paper reflects on the initiatives of women in this state of adversity.

In the beginning of 2020 when the first wave of covid-19 hit and subsequently during lockdown, which restricted physical interaction even between neighbours, a woman’s WhatsApp group became a crucial support system in light of the crisis. The present paper uses research experience from within this WhatsApp group, as an ethnographic space, to understand its continuity with the physical space through the various waves of the pandemic. It looks at how the virtual space emulates the physical space in terms of interactions, with the additional benefit of being a rich source of information with time-stamped archival data, well documented processual events, rich in narratives and real-time experiences. The present paper looks specifically at initiatives around the covid-19 crisis and brings forth the realities of solidarity and nurturing, within the community and beyond.

2. ‘Crypto currency through a gendered lens’ at 17th EASA Biennial Conference from 26 to 29 July 2022 in Belfast, United Kingdom. [Proposed and accepted during the UGC-PDF Period].

Short abstract- The year 2020-21 has seen a surge in new women investors in Cryptocurrency. Women are not only engaging as investors, but also as creators and builders. The present research attempts to take cognizance of this phenomena, looking at the nuances of a gendered engagement in Cryptocurrency.

Long abstract- Cryptocurrency, visualized as fully mechanized, decentralized currency of which all its users collectively retain control, stands to welcome new and diverse users into its folds. Engagement in cryptocurrency displays the gender disparity traditionally prevalent in the investment market. In spite of this, eToro pegs (2021) documents a new wave of women investors, and trading app Robinhood professed a seven-fold increase in women trading crypto on its platform from end 2020 to March 2021(Krishna and Catalano,2021). In the Indian context, between 2020-21, new women investors on Indian crypto platforms surged by nearly 1,400 percent, comparable to new male investors (Frantz, 2022). Women are not only engaging as investors, but also as creators and builders. The present research attempts to take cognizance of this phenomena. Dodd (2017) in context of Bitcoin points out that "the image is of a fully mechanized currency that operates over and above social life...in practice... has generated a thriving community around its political ideals, relies on a high degree of social organization in order to be produced, has a discernible social structure, and is characterized by asymmetries of wealth and power that are not dissimilar from the mainstream financial system. Unwittingly, then, Bitcoin serves as a powerful demonstration of the relational character of money". In light of this understanding the present paper tries to recognize the nuances of a gendered engagement in Cryptocurrency. It also looks at how the socio/cultural/political realities outside of the cryptocurrency community influences the engagement with Cryptocurrency.

3. ‘From the hearth and onwards Women's initiatives during ensuing biopolitics of Covid-19 the case of a gated community’ IUEAS Congress 2022 St, Petersburg, Russia, May 25-31, 2022 [paper was accepted for the conference, before the conference was unfortunately cancelled]

Abstract- Gated community is a term that refers to a physical area that is fenced or walled off from its surroundings [Landman, 2000], they are closed urban residential areas where public space is legally privatized and access becomes restricted with different level of security, special life style, and residents with the same socio-economic class. The Covid-19 pandemic brought a scenario where the very wall that was raised for protection and security became the walls for confinement, restricting flow of individuals and resources not only from the outside to the inside of the community, but also within it and outwards. The present paper reflects on the initiatives of women in this state of adversity, looking at the effective utilization of their (culturally recognized) domain of the hearth and beyond. In the beginning of 2020 when the first wave of covid-19 hit and subsequently during lockdown, which restricted physical interaction even between neighbours, a woman's WhatsApp group became a crucial support system in light of the crisis. The present paper uses research experience from within this WhatsApp group, as an ethnographic space, to understand its continuity with the physical space through the various waves of the pandemic. It looks at how the virtual space emulates the physical space in terms of interactions, with the additional benefit of being a rich source of information with time-stamped archival data, well documented processual events, rich in narratives and real-time experiences. The present paper looks specifically at initiatives around the covid crisis and brings forth the realities of solidarity and nurturing, within the community and beyond.

4. 'Informed consent, exploring the bounded within the unbound' presented in (IUAES) 2021 Yucatan Congress: Heritages, global interconnections in a possible world (November 9-13, 2021)

Abstract- WhatsApp has been in the limelight through its new privacy policy (2021) for data mining and information sharing with Facebook. In the Indian context, it has also appealed to the Delhi High Court against Information Technology (Intermediary Guidelines and Digital Media Ethics Code) Rules 2021. The ensuing debates bring to the forefront the questions of privacy and governmental gaze, which also resounds within the qualitative inquiry of Anthropology. Research in the virtual space creates such unbound limitlessness that the questions of ethics and consent become a complicated negotiation, especially when such a space is to be explored as an ethnographic reality. The present paper dwells on the experiential reflections within a WhatsApp group as an ethnographic site. The overall research which aims at a multisided ethnography with

a continuity between the online and offline, presently (in this presentation) addresses the concern of informed consent. This research which is within the bounded space of membership based on gender and residential identity, grapples with the researcher's dilemma of informed consent when the physical moves to the virtual; and the intuitive, visible, sensory and experiential cues of consent (which are usually present in a classical ethnography) are missing. Taking from Kirsten Bell's critique on informed consent during ethnography [in her paper "Resisting Commensurability: Against Informed Consent as an Anthropological Virtue" (2014)], the research continues to question the concept of 'informed consent' by drawing parallels from experiences in the virtual space and previous ethnographic experiences in the physical space. It seeks to visualise the bounded space of a WhatsApp group for its contiguity with the larger virtual world, with the offline social space as well as ethnography as an academic concern.

5. 'A Confluence between biopolitics, securitisation and technology: The case of a gated community in Gurugram, India through the Covid-19 pandemic' at IUAES 2020 Sibenik, Croatia March 9- 14, 2021.

Short Abstract- As the world arose to the threat of the pandemic in beginning of 2020, India officially recognized its first Covid case on the 27th January 2020 in the state of Kerala. The Indian Government imposed a nationwide lockdown to contain the highly contagious Covid-19 virus on March 24, 2020.

Long Abstract- What has followed since and perhaps from the beginning of the year 2020 is what Foucault has recognized as 'heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements…in short, the said as much as the unsaid', the agonistic logic that holds heterogeneous elements, knowledges and practices together, which qualified well with 'responding to an urgent need' (Foucault 1980) at relative levels of global, state and local. The process simultaneously resonated with the idea of Security which is inherently intersubjective and socially constructed: successful securitization depends on an audience's willingness to accept the legitimacy of the security speech act based on the perceived existential threat that the object of securitization poses (Goldstein,2010).

In this context, this paper looks at technology as a medium of influence in general and a women's whatsapp group (of more than two hundred and fifty members) from within an urban gated community in Gurugram India, in particular to understand how the biopolitics at the level of the nation influences governances and securitization at local level. It looks at how social networking comes together in an online space, in terms of leadership, information dissemination, voicing of opinion, charitable endeavors, support and conflict, policing and control, health and happiness and so on, in the face of a perceived threat and a forced/imposed lifestyle of restrictions.

6. 'Urban securitization: The case of a Gated Community in Gurugram' at Indian Anthropology Congress 2021 'Anthropology: Theory to Application', February 21-23, 2021.

Abstract- The perception of risk and violence is creating an increasing need for securitisation in urban spaces. Security is the ultimate goal of securitization, but not the only one. Securitization is also a means of social segregation, thanks to the creation of homogenous spaces free of people considered undesirable (Melgaço,2017). Intersected with increasing access and acceptance of technology, urban spaces are increasingly moving towards fortification which is technology intensive. The present paper looks at one such case of urban transformation, looking at a gated community in Gurugram, to understand the thread of continuum and change.

7. Invited Speaker in the session 'Realigning Logistics of Research' during an international virtual workshop Improvising Strategies for Social Research: Methodological Concerns, August 12-13, 2020.

8. Fieldwork post Lockdown (Covid19): More Questions than Answers ' at a Webinar Conclave Recent Advances in Anthropological Research, May 8-9, 2020.

Abstract-The present day (covid 19) infection prevention protocol is such that it raises significant concerns in terms of the culture of fieldwork. While we are thinking of methodological advances in Anthropology, we might actually be experiencing a very strong blow to the very foundation of our discipline, 'fieldwok'. How will we build interpersonal relations in the field with a mask on our face? How do you share and exchange confidences from the distance of a meter? How do you

express empathy through a gloved hand? How do you build rapport without the sharing of food and water? When go back to the 'field' it will not be a pre and post situation, but (presumably) a changed reality.

9. 'Happy Fridge'- How happy is it? at International Seminar on "Anthropology of Food and Health" from 27th February 2020 to 29th February 2020.

Abstract- UN recognises that there is a deeply unjust disconnect between food availability and quality in different parts of the world. One third of all food produced gets lost or goes to waste, that's enough to feed all of the world's hungry four times over. Though it is needless to draw support from numbers to visualise or accentuate Inida's lack of food security, it becomes a stark reality being at 103rd rank in the Global Hunger Index with a food wastage estimate of around Rs 58,000 crore. In this scenario, an NGO (non government organisation) 'Feeding India', is working towards reducing household waste by providing community refrigerators known as 'happy fridge'. It works on the principal that good Samaritans leave food and fruits in the refrigerator and anyone in need can immediately and anonymously access this food. The NGO has set up 500 fridges across 100 cities in India to provide food to those who can't afford it.

The present research is an ethnographic study of a community supporting a 'happy fridge'. It is based on embedded research as a part of the community, and effectively uses participant observation, informal and formal interactions and interviews to understand an object as the centre of a social phenomenon. The research brings forth a gendered perspective in terms of women's initiative, social awareness and goodwill, peer pressure, digital and social networking and a slightly realistic gap between intention and practice, reflecting on constructive motivation.

10. 'Global Corporate Citizenship and the Development Agenda', at IUAES Inter-Congress 2019, at Poznan (27th August – 31st August, 2019).

Short Abstract -Within the ethical debate of capitalist sensibilities and social responsibilities, the paper looks at how Building Intercultural competency is a multi-layered and multi-level process in the space of CSR and how Global Corporate Citizenship may be utilized towards positive development agendas.

Long Abstract- World History is marred with industrial/corporate invasion and exploitation of native communities and natural resources. This has often led to marginalisation, displacement and

migration of local communities creating social and cultural upheaval and unrest as well as human rights and developmental concerns. Today, Corporate Citizenship recognises the need for 'management of the totality of relationships between a company and its host communities, locally, nationally and globally' (EC Commission 2002). Global Corporate Citizenship often synonymous with Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) has become a prominent discourse in corporate ethics and governance. Wayne Visser (2008) points out apparent differences within CSR practices in the developing world versus the developed world. In the former, CSR tends to be less formalized in terms of benchmarks commonly used (and hence studied) and making an economic contribution through CSR is seen as the most effective and important way for businesses to make an impact, while CSR in developed countries mostly focuses on businesses' ethical and legal responsibilities. When the same organisation moves across these developmental classifications it tends to change its position. Further different cultures emphasize different aspects of CSR (Environics 2000). Trans-national and multinational companies traverse a multitude of social-political, ideological and cultural space by manipulating, negotiating and defending themselves against the larger ethical debate around capitalist sensibilities and social responsibilities. The Paper endeavours to look at how Building Intercultural competency is a multi-layered and multi-level process in the space of CSR and how Global Corporate Citizenship may be utilized towards positive development agendas.

11. 'Shifting masculinity and the reproduction of Orthodoxy: A case of truck drivers in India', International conference EASA 2018 held at Stockholm, Sweden

Short abstract- The lives of trcuk driver's in India is governed by constant mobility through multiple social systems. The present paper analyses how shifting masculinity helps the truckers negotiate everyday life and leads to the reproduction of the Orthodoxy.

Long abstract-The Indian economy is being talked of in the same breath as other more mature economies, however, the country's logistics supply chain that transports its economic produce, remains utterly unorganised and convoluted. Unlike the US and Europe where hauling a freight carrier over long distances is seen as skilled employment, India's large population, high poverty and insipid law enforcement mean driving a truck is for those who do not find employment elsewhere. This often forces the long distance truck drivers away from their homes and on to the

truck for long hauls of 8-10 month periods. It also brings into its realm boys as young as the age of 13-15 and at times even younger, who join as cleaners under a driver and continue living on the truck with the driver to learn the ticks of the trade (and eventually become drivers). The master-apprentice relation is no less regimented than a prison or an army boot camp, especially in relation to power dynamics. The present research analyses the lives of truck drivers for their relational hierarchy within the transport industry, with the state, as well as back home. It situates social relations with reference to the ideas of hegemonic and protest masculinity, its reproduction and perpetuation in everyday life and looks at the idea of shifting masculinity with respect to space and time in maintaining the Orthodoxy.

D. Workshops and Summits Attended

1. 'Two-Weeks Capacity Building Workshop on Media and Communication Studies' form 22nd April to 4th May, 2019, organized by Centre for Culture, Media & Governance, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi
2. One-week (Online) Interdisciplinary Faculty Development Programme on "Microsoft Tools for Creating Effective Teaching and Learning Environment" (7th June- 13thJune, 2021) organised by Internal Quality Assurance Cell (IQAC) Vivekananda College, University of Delhi in collaboration with Mahatma Hansraj Faculty Development Centre Hansraj College, University of Delhi.
3. Two-week (Online) Faculty Development Programme on "Biomathematics" (15th October - 28th October, 2020) organised by Department of Mathematics, P.G.D.A.V. College, University of Delhi in collaboration with Mahatma Hansraj Faculty Development Centre Hansraj College, University of Delhi.
4. Two-day Annual India CSR summit on 23rd-24th September 2019, atHotel Pullman and Novotel Aerocity, 2 IGI Airport GMR Hospitality District Asset No 02, New Delhi, Delhi 110037
5. Attended the Online course on Ethnography 18-20 June 2020, organised by Anthropos India Foundation.

E. Academic/administrative responsibilities

1. Course Coordinator for Internship Programme (19th IUAES-WAU World Anthropology Congress 2023) –The internship programme, planned in collaboration with Indian Anthropological Association (IAA), started in the beginning of the year 2022. Having interns from the global south, it endeavoured to build future leaders by engaging with young scholars, build their academic competencies, groom them in disciplinary practices in the world anthropologies, and create a network of scholars at different hierarchies of academic experience and engagement for regular dialogues beyond geographical boundaries. The programme had lecture series, mentoring, workshops, presentation, debates and discussions, as well as various activities around the pre congresses and world congress 2023. It aims to see the young scholars in a long-lasting engagement with IUAES and their critical involvement with the discipline of anthropology.
2. Secretary for 'Commission of Anthropology of Public Policy and Development Practice' of The International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (2017 onwards).
3. Member Scientific Committee, IUAES 2022 Conference, St. Petersburg.
4. Ethics Officer of Indian Anthropological Association (2017 onwards).
5. Editor, Newsletter of Indian Anthropological Association (2018 onwards).

F. Teaching Responsibilities

Certificate Course in forensic Science Certificate Course/ Semester 1 (August 2019)/ Paper- Criminology, Criminal Law and Criminal Anthropology/ Department of Anthropology, University of Delhi.

M Sc. Forensic Science and Certificate Course in Forensic Science / Semester 1 (July 2018)/ Papers- Criminology, Criminal Law and Police Administration/ Department of Anthropology, University of Delhi.

M Sc. Forensic Science and Certificate Course in Forensic Science / Semester 1 (July 2017)/ Papers- Criminology, Criminal Law and Police Administration/ Department of Anthropology, University of Delhi.

Dr. Indrani Mukherjee
UGC Post Doctoral Fellow
Department of Anthropology
University of Delhi

CERTIFICATES

To:
Department of Anthropology
University of Delhi
T-8, 903, Parsavnath Green Ville
Sohna Road
Gurgaon
122002
India

To whom it may concern.
Re: Participation of Indrani Mukherjee
The EASA held their conference in Belfast, Northern Ireland from 26th July to 29th July, 2022. Over 1730 delegates attended for four days of panels and presentations.

This is to certify that Indrani Mukherjee attended the conference, and presented papers entitled: paper 1 **Ethnographic reflections through a WhatsApp group: Women's initiatives during the Covid-19 pandemic, the case of a gated community of Gurgaon, India**, paper 2 **Crypto currency through a gendered lens**; and convened panels entitled **(Un)Gendered experiences in the virtual space**, **(Un)Gendered experiences in the virtual space**.
The panel/paper abstracts and full conference information were published on the EASA2022: Transformation, Hope and the Commons website at https://www.easaonline.org/conferences/easa2022/.

Indrani Mukherjee's participation in this event was much appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

Elaine Morley
Conference administrator

IUAES 2021 YUCATAN CONGRESS

IUAES International UNION of ANTHROPOLOGICAL and ETHNOLOGICAL sciences

Merida, Yuc, November 22, 2021.

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that

Indrani Mukherjee presented a paper entitled **Informed Consent, Exploring the Bounded within the Unbound** in the panel **The Kinship Between Anthropology and Technology: Exploring the Accelerated Interface between the Two** at the IUAES 2021 Yucatan Congress, held virtually between November 09th and 13th, 2021, in Mexico.

Dra. Maria Victoria Chenaut
Chair of the Organizing Committee
IUAES 2021 Yucatan Congress

RESEARCH

Indrani Mukherjee
University of Delhi, India
isen.78.im@gmail.com

Zagreb, June 21st 2021

CERTIFICATE OF PARTICIPATION

We confirm that Indrani Mukherjee participated in the Congress of **International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES)** *Coming of Age on Earth: Legacies and Next Generation Anthropology* (March 9th to 14th 2021, online format), in the panel no. 88 ***Emerging Urban Political Subjectivities: Synergies, Tensions, Contradictions, and Transformations in Pluralizing Cities***, and with oral presentation entitled ***A Confluence Between Biopolitics, Securetisation and Technology: The Case of a Gated Community in Gurugram, India Through the COVID-19 Pandemic.***

Saša Missoni
Chair of IUAES2020 Organizing Committee

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF DELHI

&

INDIAN NATIONAL CONFEDERATION AND ACADEMY OF ANTHROPOLOGISTS (INCAA)

Certificate of Appreciation

This is to certify that

Indrani Mukherjee

presented a paper titled

Urban securitization: The case of a Gated Community in Gurugram

during **Indian Anthropology Congress 2021** 'Anthropology: Theory to Application'

February 21-23, 2021

PROF. P.R. MONDAL
Convenor

PROF. K.N. SARASWATHY
Organizing Secretary

PROF. SUBHO ROY
Member-Secretary
INCAA

INDIAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
&
ANTHROPOLOGY WITHOUT BORDERS

Indian Anthropological Association

Anthropology without Borders

wcaa World Council of Anthropological Associations

Certificate of Appreciation

THIS IS AWARDED TO

DR. INDRANI MUKHERJEE

for sharing her valuable knowledge as INVITED SPEAKER
in the session **'Realigning Logistics of Research'**
during an international virtual workshop
IMPROVISING STRATEGIES FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH: METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS
August 12-13, 2020.

PROF. S. M. PATNAIK
President IAA & Coordinator AWB

DR. AVITOLI G. ZHIMO
Co-Convenor

PROF. NILIKA MEHROTRA
Convenor

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF DELHI

Certificate of Merit

THIS IS PRESENTED TO

Dr. Indrani Mukherjee

for presenting a paper titled

'Fieldwork post Lockdown (Covid19): More Questions than Answers'

at a Webinar Conclave *Recent Advances in Anthropological Research*

May 8-9, 2020.

Dr. K.N. Saraswathy
Convenor

Dr. Avitoli G. Zhimo
Co-Convenor

To:
Department of Anthropology
University of Delhi
T-8, 903, Parsavnath Green Ville
Sohna Road
Gurgaon
India
122002

To whom it may concern

Re: Participation of Indrani Mukherjee

The EASA held their conference in Stockholm from 14th August to 17th August, 2018. Over 1600 delegates attended for four days of panels and presentations.

This is to certify that Dr Indrani Mukherjee attended the conference, and presented a paper entitled *Shifting masculinity and the reproduction of Orthodoxy: A case of truck drivers in India*.

The abstract of the paper, along with the other panel information was published both on the EASA website at *https://easaonline.org/easa2018* and in the conference booklet that was distributed to all delegates.

Dr Mukherjee's participation in this event was much appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

Elaine Morley
Conference Administrator
registration@easaonline.org

IUAES 2019 Inter-Congress
WORLD SOLIDARITIES
August 27 - 31, 2019, Poznań, Poland
Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań

Mazurkas Travel Biuro Podróży Sp. z o. o.
Official Service Provider for the IUAES 2019 Inter-Congress „World Solidarities"
Al. Wojska Polskiego 27, 01-515 Warsaw, Poland
e-mail: iuaes2019@mazurkas.pl
tel. +48 22 536 46 40

Certificate

Warszawa 17.09.2019
To whom it may concern
Hereby I would like to confirm that:

Name, Surname Indrani Mukherjee

Affiliation University of Delhi

presented a paper entitled "**Global Corporate Citizenship and the Development Agenda**" during the Inter-Congress.
presented a panel entitled "**Building Intercultural Competency towards Global Citizenship: Anthropological insights on Policy and Practice. [Commission on the Anthropology of Public Policy and Development Practice]**" during the Inter-Congress.

The IUAES Inter-Congresses are organised every year (while the Congresses every four years) in different parts of the world in order to create a platform for the Organization members to exchange knowledge and initiate international cooperation (in previous years, among others, in Brazil, Canada, Croatia, and Great Britain).

The IUAES Inter-Congress is co-organised by:

- International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES)
- The Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań
- Polish Ethnological Society
- World Anthropological Union
- and the Mazurkas Congress & Conference Management (a part of Mazurkas Travel Biuro Podróży Sp. z o.o.) acting based on the separate agreement between above Parties.

The IUAES 2019 Inter-Congress received the Honorary Patronage of the Mayor of Poznań. The Chair of the Inter-Congress Organising Committee is Professor Michał Buchowski, the head of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and the Polish Ethnological Society.

Yours sincerely,

Dmytro Moiseienko
IT Project Manager of the IUAES 2019 Inter-Congress

MO(U)VEMENT
CASCA/IUAES2017

Ottawa, 2-7 May 2017

IUAES

To:
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Sohna Road
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India
122002

To whom it may concern

Re: Participation of Indrani Mukherjee

The IUAES held their conference in Ottawa from 2nd May to 7th May, 2017. Over 960 delegates attended for six days of panels and presentations.

This is to certify that Dr Indrani Mukherjee attended the conference, and presented a paper entitled *Corporate social responsibility through the lens of water*.

The abstract of the paper, along with the other panel information was published both on the IUAES website at *http://www.nomadit.co.uk/cascaiuaes2017* and in the conference booklet that was distributed to all delegates.

Dr Mukherjee's participation in this event was much appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

Rohan Jackson

Rohan Jackson
Conference Administrator
cascaiuaes2017@nomadit.co.uk

PUBLICATIONS

UNIT 6 ANTHROPOLOGY IN ADVOCACY AND POLICY RESEARCH*

Contents

6.0 Introduction

6.1 Anthropology and Advocacy

6.2 Advocacy, Anthropology and Need for Caution

6.3 Anthropology and Policy Research

6.4 Summary

6.5 References

6.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

In this unit we will be able to:

- explore the continuum between advocacy and policy;
- understand the relationship between anthropology and advocacy;
- explore the possible dilemmas faced by anthropologists with reference to advocacy; and
- learn about the relationship of anthropology with policy and policy research.

6.0 INTRODUCTION

Administration or power centres of society, and 'people' in general or grass root embeddedness are both integral to, and can be considered as two ends of the spectrum of anthropological engagement. A spectrum to which the anthropologist remains obliged for their consent and participation in research. Anthropologists often engage with the administration for various reasons which might include sponsorship, personal safety and security, permission, introduction and access into their research space and so on. Simultaneously, an anthropological research requires that the community/people being studied are accepting and inclusive of the researcher. The nature of the discipline is such that more often than not it engages with the under-represented and the marginalised within the society/ community, or at least attempts to embrace a magnitude of dimension and voices from the community, owing to its holistic perspective. At both these ends of the spectrum (i.e. the administration and the community) and the continuum within, remains the key question of the anthropologist's responsibility and the research outcome. It brings to the forefront thought provoking queries:

- Whether the anthropologist is able to incorporate the voices of the people they study?

*Contributor: Dr Indrani Mukherjee, Post-Doctoral Fellow, Department of Anthropology, University of Delhi, Delhi.

- Voices of the people are not homogenous. How does an anthropologist find a balance in this representation while bringing forth a realistic representation; and not allow the local forces to take over the narrative and his/her own voice?
- The community being studied is not represented in a negative or pejorative light. While contentious in itself, this is essentially significant because anthropological research is expressed as an ethnographic present, which can become stereotypical over time and the community is unable to break away from the image and identity created through anthropological readings.
- Who do the anthropologists address or take their reflections or outcomes to i.e. other academicians, people of the community, implementation agencies, administration and policy makers, and the subsequent results of these researches, and so on.

In lending research insights to the administration, lies the possibility of reflective policies that would provide constructive direction to the people/community; however, it brings with it the fear of manipulation in the hands of power. The other end of the spectrum is ground level reality which finds representation in anthropological works at differential capacities from what can be recognised as passive/ removed / academic advocacy in the form of cultural documentation and ethnographic presentations to more apparent/ political/ activist advocacy; which aspire to influence policy decisions. In this unit let us explore the continuum between anthropological research, advocacy and policy implications as well as the critiques and challenges associated with them.

Reflection

The etymology of "advocacy" is in the Latin word 'advocare' which means 'to call out for support'. Merriam-Webster defines advocacy as-the act or process of supporting a cause or proposal.

Merriam-Webster defines policy as- a definite course or method of action selected from among alternatives and in light of given conditions to guide and determine present and future decision

6.1 ANTHROPOLOGY AND ADVOCACY

"Anthropology is, so to speak, born of the cultural encounter, and anthropological practice always involves some kind of representation of 'others' (Hastrup and Elsass 1990: 307). This thought is echoed by other scholars where Layton (1996:40) opines that "advocacy derives naturally from the practice of anthropology… it is an integral part of the process of representing other people's views and (Kellett 2009: 24) says that "all anthropologists are in some ways acting as advocates through documenting and communicating their informants' perspectives to others". Thus, it can be epistemologically argued that all anthropological work has a reflection of advocacy; however, Hastrup and Elsass (1990) point out an inherent dilemma in anthropological advocacy, highlighting that "Anthropology is concerned with context rather than interest, while advocacy means making a choice among interests within the context" (Hastrup and Elsass 1990: 307). An implication of this dilemma can be simply understood by looking at quotes from above. While Hastrup and Elsass, and Layton identify the community/people (subjects of the research) being the anthropological

'other'; Kellett speaks of "communicating informants' perspective to the others", wherein the researcher becomes one with the 'anthropological other' and speaks out to various possible categories of 'social others'. This brings into focus the plausible positions where the researchers situate their identity. Thus, while there is acceptance among these scholars with reference to the 'context' that all anthropological writings have a voice of advocacy in the representation of a community, their 'interest' with reference to how they position themselves as anthropologists reflects their stance with reference to advocacy. Okongwu and Mencher point out that (2002: 109) "there has long been a theoretical and individual divide between anthropologists focusing on pure research and those focusing on the problems faced by humans". In this Hastrup and Elsass (who actually write a critique for advocacy anthropology saying that "advocating a particular cause can never be anthropological"; the dilemmas they faced point out that "anthropology may provide an important background for engaging in advocacy, which in some cases may present itself as a moral imperative" (Hastrup and Elsass 1990: 301).

Other than the fact that anthropological works take a flavour of advocacy due to their ethnographic character, the same can be said about its theoretical space which speaks loudly in terms of social inclusions and exclusions, marginalisation, discrimination, exploitation, violence and abuse, peace and security, rights and justice, ethics and morality with reference to race, age, gender, religion, geographical regions, vulnerable and subaltern groups and so on, in its academic writings. Further, advocacy has found a place in the discipline, from early on, through its own critique, where Franz Boas advocated against the classical evolutionist ideas of categorising communities based on western ethnocentrisms and countered it with the concept of cultural relativism emphasising that all cultures are unique and equally significant, and need to be understood in their own context. Similarly, role of anthropologists in military and counter-insurgency during the Second World War and the Cold War, lead to the creation of ethical guidelines within the American Anthropological Association.

> ***Reflection***
>
> Boas was involved with the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and championed the rights of immigrants and African Americans. He spoke out against a number of social issues including the First World War and the resulting xenophobia and jingoism, the rise of Nazism in Europe, racial discrimination, the intimidation of teachers in colleges and high schools, the poll tax and so on.

Anthropologists have tended to write mainly for other anthropologists, not for those who have the power to change the world (Okongwu and Mencher 2002: 109). There has been continued debate within the discipline in terms of pure anthropology and its applied aspects, which is visualised as non-theoretical and practical/practice oriented in nature. Several authors have suggested that there is an implicit hierarchy within anthropology which privileges academic, theoretical anthropology and regards any applied activity as inferior and second best (Stewart and Strathern 2005). While there is an obvious continuity between theory and its presumed/expected practical outcome, the historical biases within the discipline influences anthropologists to tread carefully in terms of the advocacy position that they choose with reference to applied anthropology.

British anthropology, "explicitly linked applied anthropology with studies of social change" (Mair 1969: 3), "especially social change that was externally induced and involved cooperation of the anthropologist with the local government" (Grillo and Rew 1985: 6). Thus, applied anthropology in some sense brings with it the role of anthropologist as an agent of social change. The historical perspective to this type of social change carried a colonial burden where the proposed change had a top-down western centric point of view. This brings to question the fact that if anthropologists are to take the position as active agents of social change then (other than the key issue of concern) who the anthropologists should write (speaking out) for i.e. 'in favour of'.

Hastrup and Elsass (1990: 302) point out that "from the post-modern perspective, theory and application, subject and object merge, we are forced to consider the practical implications. These are more complicated when the people we study are articulate about their own opinions and rightfully expect something in return for their information". One such example is that of anthropologist Nancy Scheper-Hughes and her experiences and research in Brazil. She reflects that (during her first two fieldworks, which were 20 years apart) as her role changed from a Peace Corps Volunteer who worked as a 'politically committed community organiser' to that of an anthropologist, there was a complacence towards political activism given the disciplinary outlook of an 'objective' engagement. However, during her research on infant mortality and chronic hunger in a poor favela (a shanty town), she was questioned by the women of the favela on why she had lost interest in their well-being and was implored by her research participants to partake in community action. Scheper-Hughes writes that she was told that "the next time I came back it would be on their terms, i.e., as a companheira, 'accompanying' them as I had before in the struggle and not just sitting idly by taking field notes. 'What is this anthropology to us any way?"' (1995: 411). In her subsequent visits Scheper-Hughes tried to shuttle between her role as an anthropologist and a political activist. This lead her into a larger world of politics than her ethno-specific locus of research, she writes that "the more my companheiras gently but firmly pulled me away from the 'private' world of the wretched huts of the shantytown, where I felt most comfortable, and toward the 'public" world of the municipio of Bam Jesus da Mata, into the marketplace, the mayor's office and the judge's chambers, the police station and the public morgue, the mills and the rural union meetings the more my understandings of the community were enriched and my theoretical horizons were expanded.' (1995: 410). With this Scheper-Hughes opines that "the work of anthropology demands an explicit ethical orientation to 'the other"' (1995: 418), suggesting that "politically engaged advocacy is not only morally correct, but theoretically valid and practically advantageous" (Kellett 2009: 26).

Further, Van Esterik (1985) points out that "there is a continuum of anthropological interest from the countering of Western, colonial ethnocentrism by providing systematic knowledge about other cultures to the active pleading of the cause of a particular ethnic group vis-à-vis a government (Hastrup and Elsass 1990: 302). Active advocacy which is often a consequence of work among deprived populations necessitates their 'representation' to others, this brings into the forefront not only 'who is the anthropologist speaking for' but also 'who he/she is speaking to'. "The conventions of representation may differ vastly in the two instances, neither of which can be deemed superior in

any absolute way" (Hastrup and Elsass 1990: 307), however it might make a vast difference in how the information is presented. Anthropologist might have to take on the role of an expert witness and specialist in such cases. One such example is that of anthropologists Jack Campisi and William Sturtevant testifying before Congress about American Indian land rights for the Mashpee Wampanoag.

In spite of the acceptance that anthropological works have, an aspect of advocacy there continues to be a tug of war between a purely academic focus and its applied practice. Harries-Jones (1986) points out that academic discourse provides a necessarily well-informed point of departure for presenting the reality and the hopes of indigenous peoples both to themselves and to their governments. Advocacy, however, has its own discourse, because it is directed towards specific goals. The legitimisation of these goals remains a point of contention within applied/active/practicing/ activist advocacy in anthropology and needs to be considered and cautioned for its critique.

Check Your Progress

1. Does Anthropology and advocacy go hand in hand?

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2. Mention some key opinions expressed by Scheper-Hughes with regard to advocacy anthropology.

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6.2 ADVOCACY, ANTHROPOLOGY AND NEED FOR CAUTION AND CONSIDERATION

Van Esterik (1985: 81) suggests that advocacy, as a mode of communication is likely to be "over-emotional, over-simplified, rhetorical, over-dramatic, exaggerated, and single-minded, without footnotes: in short the exact opposite of our academic writing". While this might be partially true, active advocacy certainly poses a number of challenges. Let us consider some of these dilemmas through the example of Hastrup and Elsass (1990) work, who studied the Arhuacos, an isolated indigenous group of northern Colombia, aimed towards revitalising the traditional cultural patterns, with women being its main beneficiaries.

Hastrup and Elsass were requested by some Arhuacos to help promote a 'development' project to increase their autonomy within Colombian society.

The anthropologists found that the Arhuacos themselves were divided into two political groups, the first being that of the traditionalist who were conservative about how they were represented culturally, and less akin to social change and, a second group which was more open to social change and modern ideas of their cultural representation. The traditionalists were more visible and the modernists more articulate. In this they caution that "the point of doing anthropology is to achieve a level of understanding beyond speech and to identify the context within which even contradictory statements gain meaning. Therefore, anthropological "speaking for" must be a presentation of the entire context rather than the "texts" of a selected group" (1990:306). Thus, Hastrup and Elsass found that both the key social groups representing their culture had a strong presence and voice, however these voices were contradictory to each other, they cautioned that if the anthropologists were to side with any one of these social forces, listening to their text without contextualising it in larger frame of contradictory ideas, they would be unfair in their representation of people.

Hastrup and Elsass decided that they were not comfortable advocating for either of the political groups. Further, they also found that the groups were articulate and well capable of representing themselves and did not necessarily need an external advocate. They believed that people had the agency and/or needed to develop it and speak for themselves and write that "in what sense could we 'speak for' them without possibly inflicting romantic post-colonial views up on them to the exclusion of a thorough understanding of the complex Colombian context?' (1990: 304). Moreover, in this case the Arhuacos were claiming their land against non-Indian peasant occupiers, Hastrup and Elsass found that while some outsiders (non-Indians) were 'unscrupulous', most of the surrounding peasant populations was "as marginalised and dispossessed as the Indians and no less alienated from government" (1990: 304). They felt that they could not justify speaking for one marginalised group against the other.

Hastrup and Elsass also bring out the role that foreign aid played in this complex scenario where they say that "Apparently all the powerful elements of the Colombian scene- be they Indians, bureaucrats, politicians, or guerrilleros- had a vested interest in funds". (1990: 303). With reference to the Bureaus of Indian Affair they write that "On the one hand, the Bureau was interested in our supporting the Arhuacos by means of foreign aid, especially if that would increase its own budget for projects in the area. On the other hand, it was aware that our work for the Arhuacos might eventually turn out to be subversive of it in a complex and volatile political situation." (1990: 303). Thus, Hastrup and Elsass, who had a good relation with the Bureaus of Indian Affair, while "convinced of the basic soundness of the project" (1990: 303) they had been implored to advocate, decided to keep away, taking this position in reflection of the probable holistic impact of their possible intervention.

It is clear from the discussion above that 'the people' that anthropologists work with, are not a homogenous group, they are a group given to differential opinion, local politics, individualistic aspirations and more. It is often difficult to decide who to advocate for especially when more than one marginalised or vulnerable group are involved in a position of opposition.

While Hastrup and Elsass found that the people they worked with were educated, articulate and could have easily represented themselves, there are a number of

cases when a group is unable to represent themselves effectively. This might require the anthropologist to actively advocate for or join hands with other advocacy groups working with the people of their interest. However, it cannot be denied that both the anthropologists and other intermediary groups belong to their own ideologies, worldviews, larger socio-political influences and agenda etc. It has been cautioned that if anthropologists use their knowledge for a particular cause, they can be charged with furthering "the colonial processes still at work by stealing crucial decisions and political initiatives from indigenous peoples" (Henriksen 1985: 124-125). Scheper-Hughes says that anthropology demands an explicit ethical orientation towards one's research participants, the anthropologist however, needs to evaluate whether he/she is getting drawn into advocacy due to their emotional involvement towards their respondents' expectation. There is a need to evaluate the holistic context, which can be done only by disengaging to some extent and analysing who or what controls the narrative. This also remains true because the anthropologist might find themselves in a space of fractured loyalty with reference to myriad of social institutions, organisations, people, social groups and individuals they work with and receive support from.

While one recognises that there is need for caution and considered reflection in area of advocacy whether academic or activist in nature, one cannot deny the vulnerability of the anthropologists themselves in these positions of critique and political debates. The anthropological community which is continuously given to deliberation and discussions within does come together to create a conscious support group with reference to advocacy. One such example is that of the World Anthropological Union (WAU), which spoke out in support of the French-Iranian anthropologist Dr. Fariba Adelkhah's in March 2020, demanding her release from Iranian imprisonment as a clear statement that Iran is committed to ensuring that the rights of scholars and academics are fully respected in the republic. Advocacy is a regular activity of WAU and they make such representations regularly.

While advocacy remains one necessary side of making a social difference, it essentially looks towards reaching out to an audience. One key audience that advocacies as well as anthropologists look towards addressing are those in a position of making policy decisions. Peacock (1997) pointed out the "importance of anthropology moving to shape public policy, to assist in formulating the critical issues of our society and all societies on this planet, to propose solutions that meet the desires and needs of local people, and to create a synergy between theory and practice" (Okongwu and Mencher 2000:109). In the next section, let us look at the role of anthropology vis-à-vis policy and policy research.

6.3 ANTHROPOLOGY AND POLICY RESEARCH

"With its focus on 'othering' anthropology has been a discipline of colonial power" (Pellissery 2014: 5). Anthropologists in their understanding of local and indigenous communities were often counsellors to administrative authorities, since early disciplinary history. Bronislaw Malinowski advocated a role for anthropologists as policy advisers to African colonial administrators while Evans-Pritchard urged them instead to do precisely the opposite and distance themselves from the tainted worlds of policy, as he pointed out (similar to

the conundrum of advocacy), that by indulging in applied space of policy the researcher would no longer be acting within the field of anthropology but in the non-scientific field of administration (Escobar 1991). However, "with the end of colonialism, and the beginning of the era of 'development', in reconstructing previous colonies, anthropologists had to learn to work with the State" (Pellissery 2014: 5). One such example is that of India where English anthropologist, Verrier Elwin was appointed the 'Adviser on Tribal Affairs' in 1953, to advise government on North East Frontier Area. Even in present Indian context, since being listed as 'scheduled' communities provides eligibility for various constitutional provisions through affirmative action, claim-making for identity is a constant challenge resulting in either wrongful inclusion of claimants, or unfair exclusion of eligible claimants, the expertise of anthropologists is often commissioned by the state on recommendations for the same. The engagement of anthropologists into policy research in the administrative framework however, posits certain adaptabilities and challenges.

Cochrane (1980) points out that this often requires anthropologists to work in; a) short or restricted duration of time, instead of through time intensive fieldwork; b) the primary objective of a policy study is not research and publication for colleagues, but adoption of a report by policy makers; c) policy studies try to assess future events and need to be futuristically oriented; d) policy studies makes friends and enemies as the researcher is often required to take a position on particular issue; e) policy researcher has a lower position in the administrative power structure and the sponsoring agency might control (and is accountable) for what is published; f) policy studies require advocacy, wherein the researcher needs to emphasise the significance of his/her recommendations to the decision makers; g) policy studies need to be impact oriented and employ some form of measurements or quantifiability, for the sake of information assimilation of the policy makers, as well as accessibility of policy goals. Most policies today are evaluated through 'social impact assessment' which employs both anthropologists as well as anthropological methods among others.

Anthropologists have also been involved in policy research outside of the administrative system. "A wide-spread phenomenon that is observed in Indian context is how anthropologists have assisted displaced communities (through processes of land acquisition or communal violence) for relocation and resettlement. The evidence that anthropologists generated (about the identity of displaced population, vulnerability that could happen through displacement and limits of livelihood options elsewhere) clearly influenced policy makers in the rehabilitation process. Beyond the power of their research, their ability to speak on behalf of the affected communities both brought recognition and representational voice in policy circles" (Pellissery 2014: 11). This form of involvement clearly displays the continuum between advocacy and policy.

Analysing policy is another area of interest in policy research, one such work is that of Okongwu (1998), comparing the United States with Namibia, to describes how the extreme inequality in each society results from policy decisions that lead to the lack of access to meaningful employment and to a high percentage of female-headed households.

Further, today, in this globalised world of neo-liberal economy, international competitiveness and corporate profitability have been adopted by national and

regional entities as well as by trans-national corporations (Barnet et al. 1995). This has led to "important changes that have taken place within and among international and regional policymaking institutions, states, and multinational quasi-governmental institutions and multinational private corporations shape the contours of much of what is called economic and social policy" (Okongwu and Mencher 2000: 110). Bello et al. (1994) suggest that this is a complex social process in which certain often-unspoken ideologies mediate between interests and policy. Pellissery writes that "anthropological approaches to study institutions, particularly focusing the knowledge- power nexus, is extremely powerful to reveal why there is huge difference in policies announced and policies practiced" (Pellissery 2014: 6). In this, one looks towards Nader's idea of 'studying up'. There is need for anthropologists to study elites, bureaucracies, multinational agencies and cooperation, media empires, business clubs, etc. i.e. "study of the colonisers rather than the colonised, the culture of power rather than the culture of the powerless, the culture of affluence rather than the culture of poverty" (Nader 1972: 289) in order to reflect on policy from the lens of anthropology. This is not to take away from classical ethnographic fieldwork, while studying public policy, but rather applying a multi sited approach to understanding what George Marcus refers to as a 'logic of association', the ethnographer's task is then to find what connects to what, and to construct subjects in changing contexts as they act and are acted upon. A conceptual framework is needed in which the distinctions of global and local are blurred, and where the local is seen to be riddled with the global and the latter is seen as the product of multiple locales. In taking such a stance, the ethnography becomes ethnography of the system, too (Marcus 1995).

In the realm of policy, Anthropologists are now interacting with other disciplines to improve formulations of policies, design of the programmes and implementation of the same. In this context the contribution of Thomas Issac (economist) and Richard Franke (anthropologist), of decentralised planning programme of Kerala (India), to the design principles of institutional reform is significant. As many of the institutional reform projects were foiled by the vested interests, Issac and Franke (2002) suggested an alternative paradigm of 'devolving the resources first, and then building the institutions' (Pellissery 2014). Thus, in today's context multidisciplinary collaborative works, use of mix method (including anthropological methods) and a multi-sited approach are finding increasing significance in policy research.

Check Your Progress

3. Mention any one caution that needs to be reflected upon in advocacy anthropology.

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4. In today's context, mention two ways in which anthropology can effectively engage in policy research.

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6.4 SUMMARY

Advocacy and policy reflections/implications with respect to anthropological research have been a key element within the discipline. They have often been debated about in terms of whether they qualify as anthropological in the pure academic sense; however, both anthropological works and anthropological stance has often reflected that more often than not there is an advocacy and policy reflection within anthropology in both the academic and the applied sense.

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6.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Refer to section 6.1
2. Refer to section 6.1
3. Refer to section 6.3
4. Refer to section 6.3

UNIT 4 ANTHROPOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT*

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4.2 Anthropologists and Development

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4.3.2 Reflections on Development in Practice

4.4 The Anthropological Dilemma and Critique by Development Practitioners

4.5 Why Should Anthropology Engage with Development?

4.6 Summary

4.7 References

4.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

In this unit we will learn about:

- different phases of development and anthropological engagement with development;
- anthropological critique of development in terms of the 'planetary bureaucratic culture' of development and development in practice; and
- the dilemmas and critiques faced by anthropologists when working in the area of development.

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The term 'Development' is a buzzword that dominates world politics, as the key concept that visualises transformation in society. We are today aligned to seventeen universally applicable, integrated objectives for sustainable development under Sustainable Development Goals (SGDs), and propagated by the United Nations, with a fifteen-year timeline, that is to be achieved by the year 2030. These goals bring with themselves a futuristic focus towards conserving the planet, and an acceptance that developmental concerns are to be understood in relationship with each other and that they need to be addressed by the world together. Before the SGDs, the development sector was strongly divided between the developed and the to be developed, termed over time as initially, the first world, the second and third world countries and subsequently

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western developed countries and the rest of the world, i.e., the developing and underdeveloped countries; also, at times recognised as the global north (developed) and the global south (needs development). However, over time the western developed world has itself been questioned on the various social issues it faces, as well as its contribution to environmental degradation and ecological imbalance. While the divide between the developed countries and the rest of the world still remains, it is now recognised that development has to be a universal feature with all countries working towards the prescribed causes. The SGDs have brought with themselves greater inclusion in terms of consultation with different countries as well as actors at different levels of the development management chain. However, it is still a nascent step to look at development from a holistic perspective, where development has a long historical tendency of the West leading the way for the rest of the world to catch up. We explore this history in the next subsection followed by the role of anthropology and anthropologists in development.

4.1 A BRIEF HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT

The term 'development' as an agenda was popularised by president Truman, post Second World War as an urgent need for America and the western world to provide a helping hand in alleviating the misery and backwardness in the far reaches of the world. Development has since travelled a long path which is recognised and explained through some key theoretical phases. The first phase was that of proposed 'modernisation' as conceptualised by W.W. Rostow, who spoke of five stages of unilinear growth of economic and technological advancements (with the help of the western world) through which society could ultimately reach self-sustaining growth. This growth was to be achieved through independent agencies standing as a united front for nations, formulated for implementational policy planning in the development process that facilitated the transfer of technology to underdeveloped countries and the funds to support this transfer. However, the operationalisation to the developmental process failed to follow the prescribed theory. The development plans were shunned by the local population of the underdeveloped countries, who were being seen as a hindrance to the development process. It also brought to light a multitude of social issues including poverty, poor health, and demographic indicators, lack of literacy and employment skills, which had earlier been predicted to be automatically solved through economic advancement (Robins, 1986). As the development process gained more ground, addressing social issues also found relevance along with economic and technological focus. This led to greater engagement with local cultures.

The recognition of the need for inclusion of social parameters in development allowed development agencies to gain greater inroads into the local communities. This led to two revisions in conceptualisation, i) the western world was able to find greater access to the natural resources in the underdeveloped countries, ii) the underdeveloped countries became dependent on funding from the western world for their development programmes. This next phase in development was recognised through dependency theory, identifying an economic relationship between the West and the underdeveloped countries in terms of core and periphery respectively, where the core provided funds and technology to the periphery at high rates of return, while it enjoyed easy access to local raw

material and natural resources from the periphery at economically profitable rates and augmented its own economy. Thus, the core continued to become richer while the periphery became poorer. This was also recognised as a form of neo-colonialism. The dependency theory was later replaced by the world system theory which recognised that the periphery was not necessarily a passive unit and that within the world economy there is a possibility for the periphery to change its relationship with the core, however, the overall model of economic power struggles remained (Wallerstein 1974).

The critique of development in the dependency phase in terms of dominance and subversion brought forth the phase of post-modern thinking where efforts were made to revamp the image of 'development', which spoke about the need to address social problems and focus on specific issues and social groups like human rights, migration, displacement, women, landlessness and so on. It emphasised community or grassroots level involvement in development as stakeholders, to promote a bottom-up approach. This has moved further today to use a comparatively inclusive process at the level of policy planning, as is seen in the case of the SGDs. Socially induced change however continues to remain a focus of the development agenda, where anthropologists have a significant role to play.

4.2 ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND DEVELOPMENT

Anthropology as a discipline had its genesis in the West, and in that, it had an association with administrators and the bureaucracy from the very nascent stages of the discipline, to gain access and funding for places and communities that were difficult to access (including western colonies); in this, the anthropologists also enjoyed a dominant position over the communities that they studied. The information generated by anthropologists often aided colonisation, further 'anthropologists were also used during the Second World War and the Cold War for military and counter-insurgency purposes' (Ouden 1997: 28). In the post-Second War era, came a time in Anthropological history where anthropologists took a retrospective role of strong critique to re-evaluate their role in society and towards the people they study. Thus, when the development agenda came into play in the post-second war scenario, anthropologists did not engage actively with the phenomena which were spearheaded by economists, geographers, and political science.

Around the 1970s the international development agencies realised that local communities could not be forced to change, they needed to be understood and motivated to join in with the development process. There was also a need to redirect focus towards social problems and concerns of the community and with this, anthropologists started finding relevance in the development circuit. This also opened up avenues for employment for anthropologists post a period of retrospection, on possible social engagement; however, it relegated anthropologists towards a position of the field worker. This is not to say that there weren't any anthropologists in the international agencies at the level of policy planning, but they were few and far between.

Anthropologists remained skeptical of the development process and engaged with the development differentially; while a few actively joined in, yet others remained critical bystanders, while still others opposed the very idea

of development and spoke of alternates to development. The 1990s saw a strong critique of development within Anthropology. While this was the case, anthropologists working with/in the development process also faced certain dilemmas and criticism which have been presented in the next two sections.

Check Your Progress

1. Mention three key features of the Sustainable Development Goals.

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2. How have anthropologists engaged with development?

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4.3 ANTHROPOLOGICAL CRITIQUE OF DEVELOPMENT: A BRIEF SUMMARY

In order for development to gain credence, there is a need to define society or at least a set of parameters within it to be 'underdeveloped'. This puts the societies/ social categorisations/ social institutions in a position of just opposition where one becomes the developer and the 'other' gets compartmentalised as 'needs to be developed'. The just opposition by its characterisation puts one in the position of dominance and know-how, and the other in the position of the recipient/beneficiary. The idea of 'underdevelopment' brings with it the need to alleviate the perceived problem as formulated in the dominant powers, thus "the relationship of developers and those to-be-developed is constituted by the developers' knowledge and categories" (Hobart 1993:2). In the development discourse, the category of developers was monopolised by the western world and international funding agencies claiming dominance in terms of economic and technological superiority and knowledge based on scientific rationale. In the usurping of this dominance remained an un-vocalised but obvious categorisation of the society that 'needed development' as ignorant and lacking in knowledge. While over the years development practitioners including anthropologists have helped in bringing forth the realisation that in order to ensure any kind of expected results, the community being developed needs to be taken into confidence and has to be recognised as a stakeholder in the initiative, however, does not take away the fact that development parameters are still monopolised and understood through the developer's parlance and control. In the next two subsections let us look at the critique of (a) the monopoly over development, (b) a critique of development in practice.

4.3.1 Questioning the Monopoly over Development

Development operates under what Mead had referred to as a 'planetary bureaucratic culture' (Mead 1977: 7). Bouju on his paper 'Application of Development Anthropology' (2011) writes that in the "first decade of the twenty-first century, international development appears to be one of the main vehicles of the globalisation process. It has become progressively institutionalized under the sway of a small group of very powerful multilateral organizations (the Word Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the regional development banks, and the various UN agencies) that control the majority of the financing for international development, as well as the majority of the other resources needed to carry out interventions—information, workforces, and political influence" (pg.564-565). He further points out that while these organisations have exorbitant power, they are outside of all democratic control. Also, the organisations might be independent of each other; however, they share a commonality of thought and action often influenced by a common pool of employees that circulate among these agencies. The organisations have gained "influence and power over the most indebted countries, and today, through their involvement in the globalisation process driven by international financial capitalism, they are increasingly acting like remote guardians, cut off from the daily realities of the poverty of the communities that they are supposed to be helping" (Nolan 2002: 265). Bouju further points out that, "Development projects are undertakings that mobilise political, financial, technical, symbolic, and cognitive resources in response to what international agencies define as global emergencies" (Bouju 2011:566), and permeate down through all actors in the development management chain. Olivier de Sardan uses the term 'configuration développementiste' for that whole, the largely cosmopolitan universe of experts, bureaucrats, NGO employees, researchers, technicians, project leaders, and field officers, who somehow live from the development of others and who mobilize or manage for that purpose considerable material and symbolic resources. Ouden further writes that "the 'developmentist configuration' defines the very existence of development from this perspective" (Ouden 1997:31) as a "problem susceptible to the solution or pathologically as a condition requiring a cure" (Hobart 1993:2). This opens the way for in-depth anthropological analysis of the interactions between the multiple social actors involved in or influenced by the policy and projects designed to transform other people's way of life. "The interfaces between the various social actors in the process which brings about a particular development policy and its concomitant ideas/ideology and language/ discourse should also be included in such an analysis" (Ouden 1997: 31). While the conception of the SDGs has initiated greater inclusion with respect to different actors and practitioners within the development paradigm the monopoly with regard to universalisation of development remains and is indeed an area for critique and questioning by anthropologists.

4.3.2 Reflections on Development in Practice

Large sums of money have already been invested towards development, however, one of its biggest critiques lies in the fact that the expected results are still far from reality. As a matter of fact, contrary to what was expected, developmental activities have often led to substantial disquiet and unrest within society. One such simple example has been documented by Mark Hobart in

the introduction to the book, An Anthropological critique of development: The growth of ignorance? wherein a footnote he mentions an experience shared by Till Forster, "A development agency had undertaken to increase cattle production for marketing among the Poro of the North Ivory Coast. They left, regarding the project as highly successful, because they had succeeded in their aim. Not long after, the Poro with whom Forster worked said that they felt it was a disaster. This was both because overgrazing occurred and because the greater number of cattle, which were used in bridewealth payments, brought havoc to marriage arrangements" (Hobart 1993: 22, endnote 6). It is evident from an example like this that development is often based on the developers understanding of the need of the society to be developed and is often governed by economic parameters, without reflecting on how change in one institution of society is going to subsequently influence the other parameters of society/ culture and in this particular case also natural resources (wherein the extra cattle lead to the problem of overgrazing).

Equally perplexing to the development initiatives is the difficulties of coping with unintended consequences, especially when what was neatly theorised through the developer's understanding of a scientific rationale encounters the realities of practice. Hobart examines this disjunct as the limitations of a paradigm, which combines an idealist theory of rationality and a naturalist epistemology. He opines that the western point of view is ill-suited to the ways which involve reflexivity on the part of the human beings concerned. He explains this by saying that "healing, the patient is widely expected to participate actively in the diagnosis and cure. By contrast, scientific knowledge as observed in development practice generally represents the superior knowing expert as an agent and the people being developed as ignorant passive recipients or objects of this knowledge" (Hobart 1993: 5). This brings forth one of the biggest critiques of the development paradigm by the anthropologists, who point out that the development practitioners are dismissive of the local/ indigenous knowledge systems which are usually holistic in nature. Anthropological insight reflects on the value of treating local knowledge seriously and examining its potential contribution to peoples' material, intellectual and general welfare. This point is taken forward in Hobart's book where various anthropologists elaborate the link between knowledge and agency and the fact that "Local knowledge often constitute people as potential agents" (Hobart 1993: 5), thus reflecting on the significance of understanding local knowledge as well as the agency it provides. Further, "Many anthropologists who are highly critical of prefabricated assistance and development programs are nevertheless reluctant to become a part of any aid or development scheme, even schemes which appear to be "democratically" conceived and run due to dissatisfaction with "concealed" or political goals of the programs" (Manners, 1961: 268).

4.4 THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL DILEMMA AND CRITIQUE BY DEVELOPMENT PRACTITIONERS

The discipline of Anthropology has established itself through the process of continued retrospection and self-critique especially in "understanding of our own position and subjectivity (as authors, researchers, people, and practitioners)

within the matrix of power in knowledge production" (Djohari 2011: 29). Further, "we have taken our insights beyond the boundaries of our discipline and subjecting our disciplinary neighbours to the same critical 'gaze'" (Djohari 2011: 29). This should be more than evident from the brief to the critique of development provided in the previous section. Anthropologists have known to critique not just the policy and practice of development, power politics within the development management chain, the knowledge high-handedness, and disciplinary methodologies used in development but also development practitioners. "Anthropologists have doubts about the efficacy of results achieved through rapid policy-oriented research and problem identification and are inclined to label this type of research and its results as naïve" (Ouden 1997: 26). This does not necessarily make anthropologists a very welcome inclusion for the non-anthropologists in the development sector. It also puts anthropologists in a contradictory position when they have to work towards a cause that they are/have been so strongly critical of.

Another inherent contradiction within anthropology in the context of development remains in the idea of cultural relativism. Cultural relativity propounds that no two societies are the same "every society (or culture) is unique, that it has its own patterns and arrangements, its own values, beliefs, traditions, and customs" (Manners 1961: 269). The respect for the cultural arrangement of society often makes an anthropologist wary of consenting with top-down or externally induced change. For this, the anthropologists have often been critiqued by developmental practitioners as carrying a 'museum view', as every culture is seen as unique. Anthropologists advocate the preservation of cultural identity and caution against change that might wipe away the culture's essence in the name of integration. This also brings us to the concept of the holistic approach in anthropology which believes that in the understanding of a people/community "the economic, political, and social fields have to be combined with the cultural sphere comprising cognitive orientations, secular and theological ideologies, values, norms, and attitudes. We are against compartmentalisation" (Hobart 1993: 14). This approach has also percolated to the research on social change where change is seen in holistic terms and studied for its influence on the varied aspect of society and culture, for this, anthropologists often explore in retrospect. Even while studying contemporary social changes the anthropologist takes a long-term perspective and is thus criticised for being oriented towards research and theory rather than action and induced change. Anthropologists are equally critiqued by the development practitioners for their acceptance of developmental ideas in urban/cosmopolitan areas, where they are comparatively readily influenced by western ideas and might actively become agents of induced change. In this, the anthropologists seem to be comparatively open to accepting the developmental regime in spaces of greater social exposure than not.

Anthropologists are also guided by research methods that prescribe intensive fieldwork over an extensive length of time. They are thus against "a few weeks' research by a multi-disciplinary team let loose on a local population for several hours a day to carry out interviews (often also group interviews) and observation, can easily result in insufficient information about the situation and ongoing processes, with the result that researchers are too easily persuaded of the significance of the 'problems' ventilated by informants" (Ouden 1997:

26-27). Anthropologists are also reluctant to give recommendations especially when they feel that an issue of concern has not been adequately researched. Further, they also do not believe in definitive answers for a situation as "social change cannot be seen as a linear process with homogenous outcomes" (Hebinck et al. 2001: 4). The development agenda is in conflict with both these ideas as they are often time-bound and results-oriented, and are thus looking for quick solutions.

Over time development programmes have come to involve communities as active stakeholders in the development initiatives, and thus feel more confident of the expected outcomes, however, they have not often found success. Anthropologists point out that "community development approach that strongly believed in village homogeneity and harmony arrived at a stalemate because of the naive and insufficient understanding and knowledge of local reality" (Van Lier 1980: 16-17), "although actors are often limited in their choices by a lack of critical resources, they should not be seen as passive recipients or victims of planned change, or as 'cultural dopes' who simply follow existing rules or conventions. Actors also create room for manoeuvre for their own interests so that they might benefit from, or - if need to be - neutralise interventions by outside groups or agencies" (Hebinck et al. 2001: 4). Thus, developmental programmes themselves are given to local politics and monopoly that are often overlooked by development practitioners but are within the purview of the anthropologist. However, this might remain a contested space because development practitioners might be content with meeting the overall established parameter of a programme rather than the depth of its percolation. Working with development practitioners thus puts anthropologists in a position where they have to continuously juggle between micro field studies and macro interpretations.

Check Your Progress

3. What is the justification for the western world to monopolise the development discourse?

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4. Sight any two problems of the development discourse.

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5. State of two dilemmas faced by Anthropologists while working in the development sector.

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4.5 WHY SHOULD ANTHROPOLOGY ENGAGE WITH DEVELOPMENT?

In light of the two previous sections, the primary question remains that if the paradigm of development finds a strong critique in anthropology and if anthropology itself puts its practitioners in a position of contradiction and dilemma (with reference to the development process and practice) which is equally critiqued by the development practitioners then why and how can the two work together.

As has been mentioned earlier, anthropology has developed through self-retrospection and critical thinking. Thus, it has the ability to understand both sides of a coin i.e., reflect upon a phenomenon for both its pitfalls and advantages (and the grey areas in-between). Being able to see the possible downside can be used effectively as an advantage in a meaningful engagement. As Long mentions, intervention is "an ongoing, socially constructed and negotiated process", "an ongoing transformational process that is constantly reshaped by its own internal organisational and political dynamic and by the specific conditions it encounters or itself creates, including the responses and strategies of local and regional groups who may struggle to define and defend their own social spaces, cultural boundaries and positions within the wider power field" (Long 1992: 35 and 37). While Long writes in the context of grassroots level communities, the recognition of power politics might be within the development management chain, between the programme implementers and the community, or the community's own social undercurrents to utilise development programme for their own political agendas, are all issues that can and need to be negotiated and anthropologists have often been recognised for their role as facilitating communication and synergies.

Further, there is no denying the fact that there are social concerns that need anthropological reflections. Most of these concerns are being looked at within the paradigm of development, which is the dominant socio-political reality of today. Globalisation has opened up the world to multiple dimensions of influences and it can't be overlooked that working towards interrelated social concerns needs multidisciplinary approaches. In this, anthropologists need to work with another disciplinary expert to contribute effectively, utilising their methodological standpoint, fieldwork methods, in-depth knowledge of local community, the significance of local/indigenous knowledge and agency, and critical analysis. Anthropology and its methods are finding increasing significance in the collaborative initiative. If intervention is an ongoing, socially constructed, and negotiated process, then anthropologists need to continue their negotiation with development in their different positionalities.

4.6 SUMMARY

The paradigm of development is continuously being questioned by anthropologists and other social scientists; however, this does not necessarily relegate anthropology and development to opposing positions. Most

developmental processes today are creating positions for anthropologists in the collaborative team at various levels of the development management team. One can hope for efforts towards, combined disciplinary inputs for necessary but balanced social transformations in the future.

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4.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Refer to section 4.0, paragraph 1.
2. Refer to section 4.2, paragraph 3.
3. Refer to section 4.3, paragraph 1.
4. Refer to section 4.3.2, paragraph 1.
5. Refer to section 4.4, paragraph 3.

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UNIT 8 CONTRIBUTIONS OF BIOSOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS IN INDIA*

Contents

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8.11 Answers to Check Your Progress

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

In this unit you will learn about:

- the practice of anthropology in India in its initial stages as an academic discipline; and
- the contribution of some key anthropologists, trained in various subfields of the discipline.

8.0 INTRODUCTION

The practice of anthropology in India has a colonial legacy. It found relevance under the British rule, wherein the administrators realised that in order to control the indigenous population they needed to gain an in-depth understanding of these communities. Recognising this the Britishers ensured that the British Civil servants under the East India Company realised the importance of anthropological knowledge, and by 1807 anthropology was taught at Haileybury College to train them before leaving for India. At this time very little was known about the communities that resided in India and thus descriptive work was required to fill in the lacunae. A number of British Administrative officers took to writing memoirs and descriptions of the communities that they encountered, while others were commissioned to write about the different geographical regions and their people. For example, the Governor-General of India appointed Francis Buchanan to collect information on the life and culture of the people of Bengal

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(Ghosh 2008), a task that was undertaken by him from 1807 to 1814. Further, the need to understand the people of India saw an influx of a number of British anthropologists into India, and resulted in the creation of detailed monographs on the society and culture of tribal communities across the country, by both anthropologists and administrators during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

This process of collection of socio-cultural information led to the involvement of some of the Indian anthropologists being trained by the Britishers to assist them in their anthropological work. Anthropologists like W. H. R. Rivers, J. H. Hutton, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, and C. G. Seligman also came to India and further influenced others who were of Indian origin to do anthropological studies (Ghosh 2008).

The Indian anthropologists, in spite of being introduced to the discipline through colonial influence, brought with them an internal perspective of the cultures that they were a part of and/or were familiar with. Thus, a "limited kind of 'auto-ethnography' was already being practiced in India by Indian anthropologists long before it became a major issue in western anthropology" (Ghosh 2008: 3). Due to the history of the disciplinary origin and the colonial influence, British ideas continued to govern the discipline. However, Indian Anthropologists did take it upon themselves to disagree and debate important issues without necessarily falling out with their British counterparts. The colonial exposure also motivated a number of Indian anthropologists to seek education overseas as well as publish internationally. With time, Indian anthropologists played a significant role as educationalists, mentoring new generations of anthropologists in the country, spearheading departments of anthropology in different universities of India, where they also taught. "Anthropology thus pulled itself up by its own bootstraps to become an academic discipline in the universities of India as a legitimate study of human beings, rather than an appendage of the colonial government" (Ghosh 2016: 89).

The first full-fledged department of Anthropology, in India, was established at Calcutta University, in 1921. It had as its faculty, luminaries like K. P. Chattopadhyay, R. P. Chanda, and L. K. A. Iyer, and its first batch of students consisted of prominent anthropologists like N. K. Bose, D. N. Majumdar, B. S. Guha, P. C. Biswas, T. C. Das, S. S. Sarkar, Dharani Sen, and Andre Beteille.

Indian anthropologists focused on uniquely Indian issues, moving ahead of the available documented ethnographies of the colonial period. Documentation of cultures remained a significant task and contributed greatly towards understanding diversity and census enumeration. Village studies became central to anthropological focus and there was a shift from descriptive studies of preliterate villages to the analytical studies of complex societies (Ghosh 2008). A large body of work was produced by anthropologists like S. C. Dube, M. N. Srinivas, A. Aiyappan, D. N. Majumdar, Inder Pal Singh, K. S. Mathur, Yogendra Singh, G. S. Ghurye, L. P. Vidyarthi, B. K. Roy Burman, R. M. Sarkar, Baidyanath Saraswati, Makhan Jha, A. Danda, M. K. Raha, P. K. Misra, K. S. Singh, T. N. Madan, Iravati Karve, Leela Dube. P. K. Bhowmick studied the Lodhas and founded the Institute of Social Research and Applied Anthropology (ISRAA), for their development in a village created by him called Bidisa. Indian anthropologists contributed significantly to establishing the discipline in

the country through a robust fieldwork tradition as well as the sharing of their knowledge through publications and as teachers at academic institutions. They often collaborated with various government and non-government institutions as consultants and experts for the effective utilisation of anthropological knowledge. It would be extremely difficult to incorporate the works and contributions of the pioneering Indian anthropologists in such a restricted space. The unit brings forth the works of only a few of these anthropologists to highlight the expanse and multidimensionality of the pursuit of Indian Anthropologists.

8.1 GOVIND SADASHIV GHURYE (1893- 1983)

Govind Sadashiv Ghurye is often called the 'father of Indian sociology". Born into a Saraswat Brahmin family in the Konkan region of western India, he completed his BA and MA degrees, in Sanskrit and English literature, at Elphinstone College, Bombay. In 1920, Ghurye went to England to study sociology with Leonard T. Hobhouse, but he ended up working under the anthropologist W. H. R. Rivers at Cambridge. He expresses his need for this transition stating that "the anthropological approach to Sociology was the most appropriate one" (Ghurye 1973: 45). Post the sudden death of W.H. R. Rivers, he completed his Ph.D., in 1923, under the supervision of Alfred C. Haddon. G. S. Ghurye was the third in India, to obtain a Cambridge doctorate.

Post his return to India, in 1924, Ghurye was appointed reader and head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Bombay. He received his professorship in 1934 and continued with the university until his retirement, playing a key role in the institutionalisation and professionalisation of sociology and anthropology in India, as the founder of the Indian Sociological Society, and as the editor of the Sociological Bulletin.

Ghurye's first book, Caste and Race in India (1932), became a basic text for most anthropologists and sociologists in India. He took a cultural-historical approach of examining indological texts, to understand caste in India, looking at continuity and change in social institutions, and reflecting on the developing system of caste under the present milieu of political, economic, and social change in India. Contrary to Verrier Elwin's initial idea of 'Tribal Reserve Area' which prescribed that tribals should be left alone instead of being constantly interfered with and acculturated, Ghurye "wrote on the tribes of India and gave details of their administration. He was an assimilationist and wished to incorporate the tribals of India into the 'mainstream' of Indian culture…….. He enumerated the problems of the aboriginal tribes of India in a truly anthropological manner. He was of the opinion that these tribes should neither be called 'adivasis' nor 'aborigines'. They should not be a separate category but should be merged with castes and should be treated as backward classes" (Ghosh 2008: 22).

Ghurye influenced the discipline of Anthropology and Sociology through his continued scholarship and role as an educationalist, as Upadhya (2018) mentions, "Ghurye's brand of sociology, institutionalised in his MA sociology syllabus, also incorporated a large measure of anthropology—reflecting his conviction that in the Indian context the distinction between anthropology and sociology is artificial" (Upadhya 2018: 3). He further influences the disciplines through his numerous students including A. R. Desai, I. P. Desai, Irawati Karve, and M. N. Srinivas.

8.2 BIRAJA SANKAR GUHA (1894-1961)

Biraja Sankar Guha was born in Shillong. He completed his Master's in philosophy from the University of Calcutta, in 1915. However, swayed by his interest in the people of India he moved to study Anthropology. He went to Harvard on a Hemenway Fellowship where he served as a graduate assistant at the Peabody Museum. Here, he received his Master of Arts and Ph.D. degrees in Anthropology, in 1922 and 1924 respectively. He was trained by famous Anthropologists like E. A. Hooton, R. B. Dixon, and A. M. Tozzer, and was well acclaimed for his thesis titled 'The Racial Basis of the Caste System in India' (Sinha and Coon 1963).

On his return to India from the USA, Guha joined as faculty at the University of Calcutta, in 1926, where Anthropology had just been introduced as an academic discipline for the first time in the country. In 1927, the Government of India created a position of anthropologist within the Zoological Survey of India. Guha accepted this position, and was a part of an expedition to Naga Hills at Burma Border, for the abolition of human sacrifice. He also carried out a comprehensive racial survey of India as well as joined an expedition to Chittral in northwest Baluchistan (now in Pakistan) to solve the question of linguistic affinity of the tribes of Central India and the Brahui of the Northwest Frontier. During this time, Guha worked relentlessly to create a significant place for anthropology within the organisation. His efforts were realised late in 1946. However, in the interim period, in 1936, with the assistance of the British administration (due to its interest in ethnology), he played a pivotal role in establishing the Indian Anthropological Institute at Calcutta. He continued his efforts to strengthen and establish the presence of anthropology in India. He helped in establishing the National Institute of Sciences of India and was its Founder Fellow and Treasurer during 1938-42. In, 1939, he was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and served it as an Honorary Secretary for three years from 1939-42 (Sinha and Coon 1963).

B. S. Guha was appointed the Director and Anthropological Advisor to the Government of India, in 1946, when 'Anthropological Survey of India' was removed from the folds of Zoological Survey of India, at Calcutta. He remained an ardent field researcher and emphasised its need in Anthropology, and was pivotal in establishing a substation of the Anthropological Survey of India in the Andaman Islands, in 1952. He served at the Anthropological Survey of India until his retirement in 1954. He was also the Founder-Director of the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Sinha and Coon 1963).

In his later years B.S. Guha worked on the practical problems of tribal administration and social relations. Post-retirement, he was invited by the Government of India, he organised a training centre for Social Education Organisers i.e., Extension Officers involved in India's Community Development Program, in the tribal areas. He also, reorganised the Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi, at the invitation of the Government of Bihar. He collaborated with Gardner Murphy in the UNESCO project for the study of social tensions in India, and the records of his findings appeared in a Memoir of the Anthropological Survey of India. He was also a member Central Advisory Board in Anthropology, a statutory body set up by the Government of India for formulating plans for anthropological research in the country (Sinha and Coon 1963).

8.3 PRAFULLA CHANDRA BISWAS (1903-1984)

Prafulla Chandra Biswas was born in Calcutta (now Kolkata). He earned his Master's in Anthropology from Calcutta University under the tutorage of erudite anthropologists like Panchanan Mitra and L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer. Post this he was awarded the von Humboldt Fellowship in 1933 to pursue his Doctoral research from Berlin University, Germany. He worked on morphogenetic variability of different races, under the guidance of the famous geneticist Eugene Fischer, and was awarded Ph.D. for his research '*Uber Hand und Fingerleisten von Indern*' (On Palm and Fingerprints of Indians), in 1936. Influenced by Eugene Fischer some of Biswas' early writings carry eugenic ideas where he advocates mass sterilization policies. This thought was also in conjunction with the increasingly popular discussions of eugenics in India during 1920s and 30s that visualised eugenics as an important part of nationalist and anti-colonial frameworks as well as a source of "modernisation" and "regeneration" (Hodges 2006). While his ideas on eugenics remained, he also advocated for social reforms and welfare.

Prof. Biswas returned from Germany and joined as a faculty at the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University. Here he taught for eleven years and continued his research through extensive fieldwork in the North-East, Bengal and Bihar of India. His research focused on physical anthropology, however, like many anthropologists of his time, he did not restrict his work to this particular subfield of anthropology and forayed into ethnography as well.

Biswas through his paper 'Concept of Disease among the Primitive People of India' (1934) countered both Forrest Clements and W. H. R. Rivers, where he writes that "when the monograph of F. E. Clements came into my hand and the excellent writings of Rivers were reconsulted a need of new orientation was felt" (p.1). "Although, Biswas did not challenge the theoretical orientations of Rivers and Clements, yet by citing innumerable examples from Indian ethnographies, he was able to project India with its 'primitive medicinal' diversity. He was thus truly able to establish India as a world in miniature and corrected Rivers who thought that Asia (including India) lacked in disease object intrusion causative theory" (Joshi, 2016: 4). Biswas examined the existing knowledge and provided a critical perspective to it by highlighting Indian ethnographic elements.

In 1947 when the Department of Anthropology was established in the University of Delhi, P. C. Biswas was selected under the aegis of Maurice Gwyer, the then Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University to take over as the Head of the Department. Here, he continued to teach for the next twenty one years, gained his professorship, and supervised twenty PhDs, with a number of his students joining as faculty at different universities to strengthen the discipline. He had a pivotal role in the establishment of the Indian Anthropological Association, a representative body of the professional anthropologists in India, which was registered under the Societies Registration Act, in 1969, with the Department of Anthropology, the University of Delhi as its national headquarter.

Professor Biswas worked with the government and on developmental issues. For example, he wrote the 'Socio-economic Survey of Budhpur—A Delhi Village' in (1961) as part of a Census of India 1961 series of monographs. He also advocated the setting up of a board of tribal education consisting of experts

in tribal affairs. As chairman of the Anthropology Section of the 3rd Tribal Welfare Conference, he spoke about adult education along with the education of children, and a curriculum that considered the cultural background of the tribes and included practical training in agriculture, fishing, etc.

8.4 SASANKHA SEKHAR SARKAR (1908-1969)

S. S. Sarkar obtained a DSc. from the University of Calcutta in 1948. He also received training under the famous geneticist Eugene Fischer. He worked with the Anthropological Survey of India between the years 1947 and 1951 and was a research fellow at the National Institute of Sciences of India (NISI) (now renamed as Indian National Science Academy-INSA) from 1951 to 1956. In 1957 he joined the Department of Anthropology, the University of Calcutta as a lecturer, where he subsequently became a reader. In this period, he also worked for the Census of India.

Sarkar was interested in understanding the racial distribution within the Indian population, for this he studied the anthropometric characters of various indigenous populations and tried to reconstruct their racial types through historical origins. He was a part of the excavations at Harappa and Mohenjodaro. He also carried out intensive fieldwork among the aborigines of Bengal, Bihar, Assam, and Andaman and Nicobar Islands. "Through these studies, he tried to demonstrate empirically that the Indian sub-continent had never been an ethnic vacuum……..He indicated the presence of an Australiod element in the prehistoric population of the Indus Valley, as well as down south in the skeletal materials excavated from Brahmagiri. Apart from the presence of this autochthonous Australoid element, he hypothesised successive waves of immigration into India" (INSA). He proposed a "scheme of classification of the Indian people into six groups, namely, (i) Australoid, (2) Indo-Iranian, (3) Irano-Scythian, (4) Mundari-speaking, (5) Malayo-Polynesian, and (6) Mongoloid, based on metric data" (INSA).

He suggested an amalgamation of archaeological, cultural, linguistic, and other allied disciplinary information to understand, and to give due weight, to racial classification. He also stated that "blood group gene frequencies of populations should be looked at from the point of view of micro-evolutionary processes like isolation, admixture, etc., and put forward the interesting observations, as early as the forties, and fifties, that there is a south-north and an east-west ABO gene frequency gradient in the Indian subcontinent, a gradient running parallel to caste hierarchy, and so on" (INSA) pointing to the fact that the interrelationship between social and biological phenomena, are indeed considerable.

He further recommended that the knowledge of basic genetics should be utilised to provide marriage counselling in order to reduce/minimise the social burden of giving birth to a possible congenitally disabled individual.

Check Your Progress

1. How did Indian Anthropology establish itself in spite of and along with the British Colonial influence?

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2. Mention some of the projects that Guha was involved in his first stint at Zoological Survey of India, as an anthropologist.

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8.5 IRAWATI KARVE (1905- 1970)

Irawati Karve was India's first woman anthropologist at a time when anthropology and sociology were still developing as university disciplines. She was born in Burma and subsequently received her education in Pune. She pursued her BA (Honours) in Philosophy, with Sociology as major, from Fergusson College, Pune. She received the Dakshina Fellowship and went on to do her Master's in sociology from Bombay University, under the guidance of G. S. Ghurye, where she wrote significant papers on 'Folklore of Parshuram' and 'Chitpavan Brahman'. She continued her education and went to Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Eugenics, and Human Heredity, (1928–30), where she worked under the guidance of Eugene Fischer. Her doctoral thesis was on *Normal Asymmetry of the Human Skull and Bones* and she was conferred her D. Phil degree in 1930 by Berlin University. In spite of her tutelage under Eugene Fischer she did not imbibe the racial biases of the scholar and was influenced more by the post-Independence nationalist version of Indology which emphasised the unity-in-diversity and the notion that while physical and cultural differences between castes represented diversity, India's unity lay in overarching Sanskrit texts (Sundar 2007: 14).

After her return to India, Iravati Karve worked as an administrator at SNDT Women's University in Bombay from 1931 to 1936. During this period, she was also engaged in postgraduate teaching. In 1939, she joined the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute at Pune and remained a faculty at the Institute until her retirement. She served as the head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology here and was also the Vice-Chancellor of SNDT College for some time. She also collaborated with the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London in England and the Humanities Division of the Rockefeller Foundation of the United States in the scope of her career as an anthropologist.

Karve's body of work represents a combination of integrated influences through her academic engagement with various subfields of anthropology. It reflects a) the Indological tradition from her early work with her MA supervisor, G.S. Ghurye, b) ethnological tradition which manifested through surveys of castes and tribes within India, c) German physical anthropology tradition which attempted to provide a genetic basis for the existence of a variety of groups (which she imbibed during her Ph.D. in Germany) and d) her passion for fieldwork which led her to take up new areas of research like socio-economic

surveys, or archaeological explorations with her colleague and archaeologist H. D. Sankalia (Sundar 2007: 14).

Iravati Karve was an Indologist who mined Sanskrit texts for sociological features. However, the Indological tradition that she subscribed to was very different from Dumont's in that there was no attempt at building or eliciting an underlying model of social relations. Instead, she was an Indologist in the classical Orientalist sense of looking to ancient Sanskrit texts for insights into contemporary practice (Cohn 1990: 143). Thus, Karve in her Indological work, explored ancient texts to explain the present, she then used anthropometric data to supplement her interpretations with 'hard facts'. She was an anthropologist, serologist, and palaeontologist, a collector of folk songs, a translator of feminist poems, and a Marathi writer. Her thesis, "on her own caste, 'The Chitpavan Brahmans—An ethnic study', is a classic example of physical anthropology (eye colour measurements) combined with an Indological discussion of caste origins in the form of the Parasurama myth drawn from popular versions and the Puranas……. as late as 1968, she retained a belief in the importance of mapping social groups like sub-castes on the basis of anthropometric and what was then called 'genetic' data (blood group, colour vision, hand-clasping, and hypertrichosis)" (Sundar 2007: 21). Some of her seminal works include 'Kinship Organization in India', 'Hindu Society — An Interpretation', 'Maharashtra — Land and People', 'Yuganta: The End of an Epoch'.

8.6 AYINAPALLI AIYAPPAN (1905 –1988)

Ayinapalli Aiyappan was born in Kerala. He pursued his graduation in Zoology from Presidency College, Madras, followed by an M.A. in Economics from the University of Madras, in 1927. After a small stint as a school teacher and a research assistant at Zoological Survey of India, Calcutta, Aiyappan joined the Government Museum, Madras as an anthropological assistant under Diwan Bahadur K. Rangachari, where he received his initial training in Anthropological fieldwork. He also received training in physical Anthropology under B.S. Guha, from the Indian Museum, during this period. In 1934, Aiyappan went to the London School of Economics, where he pursued his Ph.D. in Anthropology under Raymond Firth. He worked on 'Iravas and Cultural Change' and was awarded his Ph.D. in 1937. He returned to India and joined the Government Museum, Madras, and became the Superintendent of the museum post-independence. He was also a visiting professor at the University of Madras and Cornell University, during this time.

Aiyappan had an extensive interest in archaeology, which led him to join the excavation at 'Arikamedu' an archaeological site in Southern India, and he was conferred with the Saratchandra Roy Gold Medal of the Asiatic Society in Bengal, for his contributions to Archaeology.

He joined Utkal University in 1958, as a professor and head of the newly founded Department of Anthropology. Here he trained his students in not just anthropological fieldwork but collection and preservation of artifacts as well. He was also pivotal in opening Anthropology Departments in B.J.B. College and Khallikote College and laid stress on the opening of museums alongside the departments (Dash 2005).

Aiyappan also had a hand in planning for tribal welfare and activated the Tribal Research Bureau [presently termed as Tribal and Harijan Research and Training Institute (THRTI)]. He was an advisor to the institute and helped with the publication of the journal 'Adivasi'. The journal published research-oriented articles with reflections for much-needed governmental action in the upliftment of tribal groups and planning of programs for this purpose. It helped in the economic enhancement of certain tribal groups who learned to market their commodities directly to the government instead of through middlemen. Aiyappan was also the director of the Department of Rural Welfare of Orissa.

He was responsible for the reorganisation of the Orissa State Museum as a multipurpose museum with the addition of natural history, mining and geology, and anthropology galleries (Dash 2005). He subsequently joined Andhra University in 1966 as a professor at the Department of Anthropology after which he took over as the Vice-Chancellor of Kerala University in 1969. In 1970, he became the founder and chairman of the Centre for Development Studies, at Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala. He was also an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

Aiyappan was a multifaceted individual, who successfully combined his multi-disciplinary knowledge of zoology, economics, and anthropology and its subfields in an inter-disciplinary continuum in his museological endeavours, tribal welfare initiatives, and academic, research, and institutional development.

8.7 MYSORE NARASIMHACHAR SRINIVAS (1916-1999)

M. N. Srinivas was born in Mysore. He received his B.A. in Anthropology and Sociology, and Masters in Sociology from Mysore University in the years 1936 and 1939 respectively. He received his initial training in ethnology under G. S. Ghurey, and received a PhD from Bombay University for his work among the Coorgs. In spite of finding mentorship under Ghurey, Srinivas was often in disagreement with him. He proceeded to pursue a D.Phil. (in Social Anthropology) from Oxford University, under the mentorship of A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and subsequently E.E. Evans-Pritchard. He completed his D.Phil. in 1947 and was appointed as a Lecturer in Indian Sociology at Oxford. His scholarship was such that he enjoyed the continued awards of different fellowships since his research pursuits in Bombay and was conferred with numerous awards throughout his life.

Srinivas returned to India in 1951 and joined Maharaja Sayajirao University at Baroda, where he became the first Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology. In 1959, he founded the Department of Sociology at Delhi University, under the Vice-Chancellor V.K.R.V. Rao. He strengthened the department by recruiting erudite scholars like sociologists M.S.A. Rao and Savitri Sahani, and anthropologists Andre Béteille and Gouranga Chattopadhyay. He also mentored a number of students who took up leading positions in departments of sociology and social anthropology in India. In 1968, the Department had gathered a high reputation and was recognised as a Centre of Advanced Study by the University Grants Commission. Srinivas also had a pivotal role in setting up the Institute

for Social and Economic Change at Banglore, in 1972, as a joint director with Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao. He remained a visiting Professor at this institute until his death. He was also a part of many Government Committees and an active member of the University Grants Commission, the Indian Council of Social Science Research, and Economic and Political Weekly.

M.N. Srinivas through his works introduced a number of key concepts that hold relevance in India's contemporary reality even today. During his first Ph.D., he introduced the idea of 'Brahminisation' as a mode of caste mobility and social change. He subsequently introduced the term 'Sanskritisation' as a more inclusive term than 'Brahminisation' in the spread of Hinduism. He included this shift in perspective under the influence of the structural-functional school of thought, in his book Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India (1952), where he also introduces the ideas of horizontal solidarity and vertical solidarity within a caste and village respectively. Here, he also differentiated between the varnas and jatis in the understanding of castes and sub-castes, laying emphasis on the use of local terms to understand the Indian society better. He also emphasised the need for village studies in the understanding of the country. In his fieldwork in Rampur, Mysore introduced the concepts of 'dominant caste' and westernisation, distinguishing between ritual and secular statuses, and highlighting the role of western education, economic and political power in social mobility, and change. Contemporary ground realities in Indian society are further highlighted in the book *The Grassroots of Democracy: Field Studies of Indian Election*, a collection of nineteen essays that reflect on two national elections in India's rural, tribal and urban communities. The book conceived by Srinivas and A.M. Shah carries commentary on how primordial loyalties (caste, kinship, religion, tribe, clan) in varying combinations affect the electoral behaviour of the voters and delineates the continuity between local, regional, and national politics.

Srinivas was an ardent field researcher and advocated the same for Indian Anthropology and Sociology. His work '*The Remembered Village*', written from memory of his fieldwork (after the loss of his original field notes to a fire), adds a new methodological dimension to the practice of Anthropology.

Check Your Progress

3. Mention some key concepts that were explained by M. N. Srinivas.

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8.8 DEBA PRASAD MUKHERJEE (1931-2015)

Deba Prasad Mukherjee was born in Azimnagar, Dacca (now in Bangladesh). He completed his Bachelor's and Master's degree in Anthropology with specialisation in Physical Anthropology from Calcutta University in 1951. In the course of his career, he associated with a number of international, national governmental, non-government, and educational organisations, with

a zealous zest for academics and research. He began his career as a lecturer in Kandi Raj College, Murshidabad where he became the founder head of the Department of the newly created Biology department. Post this he worked as a senior investigator in the Planning Commission UNESCO project on "effects of Industrialisation". He also worked as a part-time lecturer in Bangabasi College while simultaneously pursuing the Statistician's Certificate Course at Indian Statistical Institute, Kolkata (in the evenings). In 1957, he joined the Anthropological Survey of India (at Shillong), as Research Associate, and conducted extensive fieldwork among the tribal population of North-east India. Further, in 1960, he joined a project on 'Race Crossing,' studying the first-generation Anglo Indians, conducted by Ruggles Gates. Here he studied the inheritance pattern of hypertrichosis of the ear rim (hair on the ear rim), looking at the extensive pedigree of the trait and presented proof of its Y-linked inheritance.

Mukherjee was interested in detecting inheritance through the study of dermatoglyphics and diseases. For this, he studied the handprints of Mahar caste population of Maharashtra, measuring the position of t-triradius. The paper that he wrote based on this data earned him the position of a Commonwealth Scholar at Galton Laboratory under Professor Penrose. Here he continued to complete his Ph.D. under the joint guidance of Sarah B. Holt and C.A.B. Smith and was awarded his degree in 1967. While he continued for another year at the Kennedy-Galton Centre (U.K), as an MRC Fellow, his key inclination was to work in India, he thus declined a teaching assignment at the U.K. and returned to India in 1969, where he worked ardently to include anthropology and human genetics into medicine.

On his return from the U.K, he joined as Assistant Director at National Institute of Family Planning and established a new division for 'Population Genetics and Human Development', and was a visiting professor to the Department of Anthropology (University of Delhi) and Department of Social and Preventive Medicine (Lady Irwin Medical College). He was recruited as an expert by the World Health Organisation, in 1971, as a part of the scientific group on genetic implications of family planning. Here he presented a paper on "Patterns of marriage and family formation in Rural India and Genetic implication of family planning", elucidating the long-term effect of the national family planning programme on human evolution.

Post his stint at the National Institute of Family Planning at Delhi, he moved to Sri Venkataswara University, Tirupati as head of the newly founded Department of Anthropology and Sociology. Here he motivated his students to pursue new areas of anthropological studies in the region including "inbreeding and population structure, growth research among children, cultural aspects of health practices among different castes, genetics of human fertility, family planning, human genetics and micro-evolutionary studies among tribal, caste and migrant populations, etc.," (Das 2015: 413).

Further, he founded a 'School of Anthropology' in Anthropological Survey of India as Deputy Director in 1975. In 1981, he joined the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University, as Professor of Physical Anthropology and taught there for the next 15 years until his retirement in 1997. He continued to use his anthropological expertise for social causes and actively engaged

in "awareness camps of doctors, health camps, health and genetic study of hereditary diseases on outdoor patients of R. G. Kar Medical College, Calcutta. He established 'School of Human Genetics and Population Health' in 1993, with a group of social workers, physicians, and scientists, to address diseases and deformities from the perspective of medical genetics, genetic counselling in the individual, and genetic screening and detection in the community" (Das 2015: 413).

Check Your Progress

4. Mention some contributions of Prof. D.P. Mukherjee.

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8.9 SUMMARY

The early Indian Anthropologists had a significant role in establishing the academic discipline. In spite of being from varied positionalities within the discipline, they established a strong fieldwork tradition and advocated for the sub-disciplines of Anthropology to be used constructively and in communication with each other. They were pivotal in establishing various anthropological academic and research institutes, and their scholarship and writings established Indian anthropology on the global map, as well as highlighted the uniqueness of cultural characteristics of India. These anthropologists worked relentlessly to document the various tribes and communities of India for their socio-cultural as well as physiological specificities, contributing to census information as well as community development and welfare programmes. They were also advisors to the Government of India as well as non-government organisations at various capacities.

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8.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Refer to section 8.0
2. Refer to section 8.2
3. Refer to section 8.7
4. Refer to section 8.8

UNIT 11 CONTEMPORARY URBAN CONCERNS

Contents

11.0 Introduction

11.1 Crisscrossing of Anthropology and Sociology

11.2 Anthropological Reflections on the Concept of 'Urban'

11.3 Increasing Interest in Urban Research

11.4 Summary

11.5 References

11.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

Learning Outcomes

After reading this Unit the students will learn to:

- Define the need for anthropological focus in the urban areas;
- Describe the various topics on which anthropological research has been conducted;
- Examine critiques within urban anthropology which helped the sub-discipline to reflect and grow; and
- Evaluate the continuity in urban anthropology with old concerns of research and new topics of investigation.

11.0 INTRODCUTION

'Urban' is problematic to define, it is often a socio-economic construct for administrative use, and does not have any globally accepted definition of what constitutes an urban. What is more, the manner in which national statistical offices define "urban" varies from country to country and often over time within countries. The criteria considered to define 'urban' also defers across geographies: while minimum population threshold or population density are often among the key criterion for recognising an urban space, other criteria such as proportion of workforce employed in non-agricultural sectors and availability of infrastructure or of education, health and other services might also be potential administrative considerations (UN, 2018). The world is seeing an escalating growth in urban population. UN estimates showed that where in 1950, 30% of the global population was living in urban areas the proportion increased to 55% urban population in 2018, and it is estimated that 60% of the world population would have moved to urban areas by 2030. It is predicted that transition will be most acute in Asia and Africa, wherein by 2050 most of the world's urban population will be concentrated in Asia (52%) and Africa (21%) (UN, 2018).

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This increase in urban population growth is a function of the natural population growth of the people living in urban areas, migration of population into the urban areas, the extension of urban areas to assimilate neighbouring areas into their ambit as well as the spouting of new urban centres. This urban growth is (not always, but) often accompanied with the process of **urbanisation or "urban transition"** which can be understood as "a shift in a population from one that is dispersed across small rural settlements, in which agriculture is the dominant economic activity, towards one that is concentrated in larger and denser urban settlements characterised by a dominance of industrial and service activities" (UN, 2018). This has led to urban areas becoming major economic hubs with the World Bank estimating that more than 80% of the global GDP is generated in cities. However, rapidly increasing urban capacity in terms of both population as well as geographical boundaries brings forth a number of concerns and challenges. It brings to question infrastructural necessities to accommodate population density, the provision for basic amenities, like food, water, sanitation, shelter, health and medical facilities, education, transportation and so on. The constantly changing population, and admixture of population through internal and international migration brings forth vulnerabilities and social concerns like crisis of/in identity, exploitation, marginalisation, economic disparity and abject poverty, crime and substance abuse, relegation to the peripheries of the urban spaces, gender/ caste and class based/ racial or religious discrimination, violence and more. In addition to this, encroachment of expanding urban spaces into neighboring rural spaces, and the emulation of western culture in the non-western societies lead to culture shock changing lifestyle along with transformation in family and kin relations. Exemplifying these challenges and concerns is the extreme ecological pressure on limited natural resource, and the power politics with reference to resource allocation and distribution, and many more. Equally true in today's reality of a globalised world is the presence of transnational and multinational institutes and organisations which often situate their key hubs in urban areas lend to geopolitical and economic influences and manipulation within the urban domain, bringing to light subjects like identity, citizenship, civil society and social movements, access to retail goods and services, artistic expressions and popular culture etc. These concerns and challenges do not just inspire, but necessitates anthropological enquiry and research in order to facilitate their in-depth understanding and actionables therein.

Anthropology as a discipline had its genesis within the study of the more obscure communities in tribal areas and rural and peasant settlements; however, with the increasing advent of urban concerns it was only fair that anthropologists increase their horizon of exploration into the foray of urban studies. For the perspective of the disciplinary history of anthropology urban concerns are themselves a contemporary enquiry, and most highlights in this subsection has a contemporary bearing. The attention towards exploration of urban concerns began within anthropology around the 1930s however the sub-discipline of urban anthropology came into being in a significant manner since the 1960s. In the next sections we look at how anthropology has understood and explored urban concerns, leading up to the more contemporary perspectives of research in today's context.

11.1 CRISSCROSSING OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY

Early anthropological foray into urban inquiry was influenced by sociological thought and theory, with crisscrossing of boundaries and scholars between the discipline due to shared scholarly approaches and methodological perspectives. Prominent scholarly works in this regard, with reference to nineteenth century industrial society, were that of Ferdinand Tönnies's work on "Community (Gemeinschaft) and Society (Gesellschaft), which established a distinction between the feudal community, characterised by intimate relations and collective activities, and the capitalist society, characterised by impersonal relations and contractual bonds" (Prato and Pardo, 2013: 81) and Emile Durkheim, who in his work on suicide brought forth the concept of 'anomie' and argued that anomic suicide was a phenomenon common to impersonal settings, such as modern cities, that lacked the traditional cohesive social institutions, and were displaying a sudden flux in social hierarchy. Theoretically there was a dichotomic understanding of rural vs urban with the "view of the city as a fragmenting, rather than unifying place; that is, a place of greater freedom and opportunities for the individual but also a place of isolation, conflict and bureaucratisation of all aspects of life" (Prato and Pardo, 2013: 82). Similar sentiments were later echoed by Louis Wirth, a sociologist of the Chicago school of thought, in his work 'Urbanism as a Way of Life' (1938). Here "Wirth described the city as a specific 'social institution' with distinctive attributes, which were reflected in the urban physical structure – that is, the urban plan and the city's size – in the urban social organisation and in the attitudes and ideas of city-dwellers. According to Wirth, the city's social heterogeneity and population density promoted differentiation and occupational specialisation. Therefore, he argued, social relations tended to be impersonal, transitory, superficial and instrumental. In this context, Prato and Pardo pointed out that "such a weak social integration would eventually result in anomie" (2013: 82-83). Influenced by Wirth's work, Robert Redfield (an American anthropologist) theorised on 'folk-urban continuum' (1947) with 'folk' and 'urban' societies as two opposite ideal types with peasant communities as the link between the two. This western centric juxtaposition between the rural and urban continued for a long time within the disciplinary forte and is also evident from the definition of '**urbanisation' as understood by international organisations like the UN (in administrative parlance) as mentioned in the previous section. However,** Redfield does contribute to understanding different types of cities in his work with Singer, titled 'The Cultural Role of Cities' (1954).

Urban anthropology was also influenced in a big way by the Chicago School of Thought which saw significant contributions since the 1930s. This group of scholars concentrated their effort on neighbourhood studies, focusing on a specific area of a city, more often than not treating them as bounded entities. These included the visualisation of cities as ecosystems segmented in 'natural areas' (by scholars working on urban ecology) or as 'ordinary' neighbourhoods, white neighbourhoods and slums and ghettos for immigrants and African Americans (in works of sociology and criminology). The school also saw a number of interesting methodological explorations in urban studies. These

include the work of W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki who wrote five-volumes on 'The Polish Peasant in Europe and America: Monograph of an Immigrant Group' (1918-20). The study was based on the writings of migrants including letters and diaries, and developed life histories to establish its participants' point of view, it also contrasted and reflected on how the migratory process was represented in newspapers. The research included fieldwork in both the United States and Poland and was a reflective of primary initiative of a transnational study. Within urban studies, Thomas brought out an "interest in organisation (and disorganisation), social interaction (contact and assimilation), and meaning (attitude), as well as the overarching significance of location to social facts, and ultimately the critical importance of collecting primary data" (Jones and Rodgers, 2016: 3).

Other scholars alongside W. I. Thomas to influence the direction of urban studies at Chicago school were Robert Ezra Park, Ernest Burgess, Louis Wirth. Some initial approaches consisted of studies of areas that were subject to laws of residential succession, they used research methods including historical evidence, interviews and, quantitative demographic and statistical material to understand changing residential patterns and related social problems. This was followed by works that were based more on anthropological methods. Carolyn Ware's work 'Greenwich Village, 1920-1930' (1935), used qualitative 'ethnographic method' to understand the incorporation of Greenwich Village into New York and the process by which it maintained its distinctive character, while William Foote Whyte's 'Street Corner Society, The Social Structure of an Italian Slum' (1943) applied the classical anthropological method of participant observation; and W. Lloyd Warner's 'Yankee City' (1941) which was a long-term study of a small New England town in United States, was an ethnographic perspective with formal interviews. Some other interesting works of this school consist of "Nels Anderson's, The Hobo (1923), Frederic Thrasher's, The Gang (1927), Paul Cressey's, The Taxi Dance Hall (1928), Louis Wirth's, The Ghetto (1928), Harvey Zorbaugh's, The Gold Coast and the Slum (1929), Clifford Shaw's, The Jack-Roller (1930), Pauline Young's, The Pilgrims of Russian-Town (1932)" (Jones and Rodgers, 2016: 6) etc.

The Chicago school also produced a number of influential urban studies in the area of crime, delinquency and criminology contributing to theoretical concepts like 'social disorganisation' (Shaw & McKay), 'power control theory' (Hirschi), 'routine activity theory' (Cohen & Felson), 'institutional anomie' (Merton, Messner & Rosenfeld), 'strain theory' (Cohen, Cloward & Ohlin, Agnew), 'differential association, social learning theory and subculture theory' (Sutherland & Cressey), 'labeling theory' (Lemert, Goffman, Sherman) etc. Sutherland (1940) also reflected on the idea of white-collar crime among the urban upper class; a concept that was hitherto unspoken of as perpetration of crime was until then associated with the lower class and poor neighborhoods.

One of the main critiques of the early urban sociological works of the Chicago School was that their neighbourhood studies conceptualised the concern of study as a socio-culturally bounded area, and in that it failed to consider the 'holistic approach' which is a corner stone of anthropology and missed out on understanding how the wider world influenced these areas. In spite of this, the early scholars of the Chicago School were influenced by the works

of classical anthropologists like Boas, Radcliffe-Brown as well as Mauss and Malinowski, and a number of scholars from this school were identified as both sociologists and anthropologists and their works paved the path towards urban anthropology.

The 1930s to the 1950s, saw anthropological works on rural migrants living in slums and shanty towns of Mexican and other Latin America cities, focused on understanding the impact of 'urbanism' on their lives, in what was recognised as problem centred research of minorities and poverty. A similar interest was pursued in African countries British anthropologists, working through the Rhodes Livingston Institute, based in the British territory of then Northern Rhodesia. A number of studies were conducted on the process of urbanisation and 'detribalisation'. 1941, saw the appointment of the South-African-born anthropologist Max Gluckman as the Director of the Institute. Gluckman drafted a 'Seven Year Research Plan' for research in both rural and urban areas. He focused on the mining area known as the Copperbelt, looking at the migration of labour force from rural areas to new mining towns and their exploitation therein as they entered a new web of relationships that were believed to be typical of the 'urban system' (1961). A significant body of work was created on African urban ethnography under Gluckman's direction and is known for its research methods of case and network analysis.

These studies were however criticised by Raymond Firth (from the Department of Social Anthropology at the London School of Economics), who himself was engaged in a study of kinship in South London for their focus on small communities and minorities in continuation of the anthropological interest in the exotic other. "The key point is that early anthropological studies in cities focused on traditional anthropological topics, thus leading to the study of urban kinship, of ghettoes and slums in shanty town communities, of the perpetuation of folklore and rituals, and so on. Throughout the 1960s, such disciplinary interest focused on new urban residents; urban problems, such as poverty, urban adaptation and ecological factors; the role of dominant social groups; minority communities (the problem centred approach)" (Prato and Pardo, 2013: 85). In spite of criticism the reality of these social situation remains true even in today's context.

Check Your Progress

1. Define urbanisation or 'urban transition'.

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2. Elaborate on urban realities that inspire and necessitates anthropological enquiry.

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3. Mention some key scholars and works of Chicago School of Sociology that influenced urban anthropology.

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4. Mention a critique of early urban sociological work by the Chicago School.

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5. On what grounds did Raymond Firth critique urban anthropological research?

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11.2 ANTHROPOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS ON THE CONCEPT OF 'URBAN'

In the introduction, we realised that the category 'urban', in the realm of administrative considerations, recognises population density as one of its primary parameter; while urbanisation recognises a shift from agriculture to industrial and service-oriented economy. Anthropologists added notably to socially nuanced aspects to this understanding. Beginning with the work of sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies who (did not use the word urban, but) proposed the term *Gemeinschaft* for community (which was recognised by intimate relations and collective activities) and *Gesellschaft* for society reflective of capitalist society (characterised by impersonal relations and contractual bonds). While the western centric scholars focused on the urban/cities as a function of industrialisation, Redfield and Singer in 'The Cultural Role of Cities' (1954) recognised two types of cities, based on how these cities affected culture change and transformation. The first, they termed as 'orthogenetic cities' where "pre-existing folk ideas and values are transformed by a group of urban literati and transmitted back to the people (folk) among whom they originated. They argued that such a process of elaboration and codification of the folk culture becoming a Great Tradition creates an indigenous civilisation" (Prato and Pardo, 2013: 87). The second contrasting city was 'heterogenetic cities' which were centres

of technological and economic changes, recognised by the encounter between folk and external culture accompanied with forces that "destroys the ancient tradition and brings about dissent, rootlessness and anomie" (Prato and Pardo, 2013: 88). Further, Southall (1983) spoke of 'urban' in terms of 'spatial density of social interaction' rather than demographic density, and encouraged comparative analysis of historically established metropolises, to take the earlier debate on classifications of city types forward. His research in African ex-colonies recognised two categories of cities –

Category A includes cities that had a historical existence from before colonisation, were slower in taking to the development process and had strong interconnections with the neighbouring rural areas as well as their subsistence economy.

Category B consisted of cities that came into being as a part of the colonising process, centred on mining or industrial economy, with rural migrants' labourers as their key employee and population.

Gutkind (1983) reflected on 'class struggle' being the essence of urban life and posited that social relations and social institutions in an urban setting are significantly different from rural settings. Gluckman maintained that 'the starting point for an analysis of urbanisation must be an urban system of relations' (Gluckman ,1961: 80).

These debates brought to the forefront key reflections like historicity, economic relations, social institutions, social structure, social relations, rural to urban migration, class struggle, rootlessness and anomie etc., into focus in the understanding of 'urban' and remain relevant even today. However, they were criticised by Leeds (1972), who pointed out that urban anthropology 'has been done as if, (a) the city were an isolated unit and (b) as if the thing studied in the city has some intrinsic relation to the city' (Leeds 1972: 4). Two key contributions in understanding interconnectivity in context of urban beyond its boundaries, came from Pocock and Leads himself. Pocock (1960), in the context of the Indian city, argued that in case of Indian cities traditional social values were reflected in the caste and kinship system, erroneously and hastily associated with 'Western values and influences' (Pocock 1960: 65). Thus, for Pocock, the urban was an extension of the rural. Leads on the other hand advocated an 'understanding of the 'totality' of the city as part of a wider totality; that is, the state and the global context to which it belongs' (Prato and Pardo, 2013: 89). He writes that "cities are simply one form of population nucleation, all of which precipitates in localities of an extraordinarily complex system of interactions which constitute a society" (Leeds 1972: 4-5), and specifies the relevance of the macrocosm in influencing local realities. Similarly, other anthropologists increasingly realised that cities could not be regarded as subordinate units of centralised states and that urban phenomena should be contextualised in the global system.

11.3 INCREASING INTEREST IN URBAN RESEARCH

'Urban anthropology' (though still not necessarily slighted under the sub discipline) saw an encompassing of newer concerns, along with the old from

the 1980s onwards. Research continued to look at neighbourhood as their focus, however, the local dynamics was now linked to broader historical and international processes. Research conducted in the "Middle East addressed the Israeli-Arab conflict, looking at the influence of religious education in political processes (Fischer 1980), the significance of ethnic demographic movement (Shokeid and Dresden 1982) and historical processes of nation-state formation (Aronoff ed. 1986) in relation to significant external factors" (Prato and Pardo, 2013: 92).

The concept of 'study up', also came into practice, where anthropologists did not just restrict themselves to researching the marginalised and less privileged, but social groups that might have substantial power in the society. Some examples of this are the work on "inherited wealth by (G. Marcus 1980) and Congressional patronage and ritual (Wheatherford 1985)" (Prato and Pardo, 2013: 92), conducted in the USA. This kind of study was also proposed in the development paradigm to study the complete chain of institutions and agencies involved in policy and practice, rather than just the grassroot and community level initiatives.

Research continued on topics like elderly, gender (feminist-oriented), education, crime, ethnic minority and new migrants, ethnic relations, ethnic and religious identities, work and women's role in economy, class and gender, town symbolism and urban planning, sex tourism, power relations in industry, women factory workers, housing, urban restructuring and new settlements at urban peripheries, homelessness, addiction and drug dealing, and so on. African studies looked at dramaturgy of power, the emergence of new indigenous leaders and entrepreneurialism. Urban anthropological research "variously recognised the ways in which regional diversity (cultural, social, economic and political) affects urban life. Anthropologists have paid attention to: a) a rethinking of theories of urbanisation and patterns of urban growth; b) different patterns of urban social interaction and urban conflict in traditionally multi-ethnic states and 'multicultural' processes in Western cities; c) the ways in which people in different regions and under different political regimes respond and adapt to the demand of global policies (e.g., developing countries, post-socialist countries, post-industrial settings); d) the visibility and relevance of urban research, and anthropology generally, in the broader society" (Prato and Pardo, 2013: 92).

Methodological concerns also became primary in urban research. Classical anthropologists were already critical of anthropologists working on urban concerns. It also came to be questioned if classical anthropological methods were sufficient to understand complex societies and study urban realities. In a number of cases anthropologists remained bound through the focus of their topic, i.e., neighbourhoods (physical/geographical/spatial boundaries), ethnic or religious minorities (cultural boundaries), or groups confined by gender, age, work, class etc., and boundaries traversing between the micro-processes within these bounded constructs and macro-processes at regional, national and global levels. "Undeniably, anthropologists found it increasingly difficult to define their field of study, for global changes forced them to take into account data that were academically 'allocated' to other social sciences and to the humanities; in particular, sociology, political science, economy and history"

(Prato and Pardo, 2013: 94). This led to invariable multidisciplinary inputs to the sub discipline. Simultaneously, other disciplines and especially sociology also started to explore the ethnographic method. "New urban research followed thereof on the interactions between economic, political and cultural aspects, which contextualised local dynamics and change in national and global historical processes (Prato 1993, 2000, 2009). Others (Spyridakis 2006 and 2010) have taken on such an approach looking at the relationships between local and national processes and policies of global restructuring that fundamentally influence the local reality and people's everyday life" (Prato and Pardo, 2013: 95).

Anthropologists like Pardo (1989) researching on death, in Naples reflected that participant observation along with construction of case studies can yield holistic study in the anthropological tradition in urban areas. George E. Marcus on the other hand proposed the idea of 'multi-sited' ethnography to understand the contiguity between micro and macro processes, 'connections between places' and 'complex objects of study'. He described a developing set of ethnographic practices appropriate to the increasingly non localised nature of the lives of those who anthropologists study, that captured and helped to conjure the limits of ill-defined social geographies. Multi-sited ethnography, Marcus (1995) maintained, embodies a research design best suited to examining the "circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space" (Marcus. 1995: 96).

Methodological inclusions continued as the 21st century included researches on industrial relations, citizenship, religion and modernity, political ideologies and urban planning, violence and conflict, movements of resistance, problems of multiculturalism, urban symbolism, cultural meaning and use of urban space, environmental issues. These research concerns find continuity into the conception of sustainable cities.

Check Your Progress

6. Explain the difference between 'orthogenetic cities' and 'heterogenetic cities'.

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7 What was Leeds critique of urban anthropological research being carried out in the 1960s?

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8. Who proposed the idea of multi-sited ethnography? What is its mainstay?

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11.4 SUMMARY

We find that anthropology has addressed myriad of urban concerns through research. The historicity of the discipline in this forte carries relevance even in contemporary urban realities. For example, Subhadra Mitra Channa in her work ''Being Urban in the Context of Global Urbanisation: The Case of India" (2018), draws from the work of Redfield & Singer, to explain that dichotomies like urban/non-urban are fuzzy and fluid, in the case of Delhi and cannot necessarily be understood through a western lens. Urban anthropology has also opened a space for multidisciplinary engagement which (though criticised by classical anthropologists) has a significant role to play in anthropology itself as even village life is far more complex in ways not before imagined; and with increased mobility, urbanisation is seeing high urban influences and vice-versa. Globalising influences and penetration of information and technology is adding to the complexity of urban spaces; and all these realities contribute to the potential for anthropological enquiry, reflection and action.

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11.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Refer to the 2nd paragraph in Section 11.1
2. Refer to the 2nd paragraph in Section 11.1
3. Refer to the 2nd and 3rd paragraphs in Section 11.2
4. Refer to the 5th paragraph in Section 11.2
5. Refer to the 7th paragraph in Section 11.2
6. Refer to the 1st paragraph in Section 11.3
7. Refer to the 3rd paragraph in Section 11.3
8. Refer to the 5th paragraph in Section 11.4

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UNIT 5 CENSUS AND SURVEY*

Structure

5.0 Objectives

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Census

5.2.1 What is Census?

5.2.2 Uses of Census Data

5.3 Survey

5.3.1 What is Survey Research?

5.3.2 Advantages and Disadvantages of Survey Research Method

5.4 Comparison between Census and Survey

5.5 Let Us Sum Up

5.6 References

5.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- explain what census and survey are;
- discuss advantages and disadvantages of census;
- discuss advantages and disadvantages of survey; and
- compare census with survey.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Census and survey are both research methods which outline the process of data collection (for analysis) in a research. In the beginning of this Unit, we will learn what census is and how census data are utilized. This will be followed with an understanding of what and how survey is and how it is utilized in social research According to United Nations, the census of population is "the total process of collecting, compiling and publishing demographic, economic and social data pertaining, at a specified time or times to all persons in a country or delimited territory. United Nation document–Principles and Recommendations for National Population Censuses (ST/STAT/SERM/27). When translated in terms of

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everyday research, the 'population' of study is defined by the research interest/ research question. A population is any complete group with at least one characteristic in common. Once the population of the study has been defined, data is systematically obtained every element/individuals of the population across common predetermined parameters. A survey, on the other hand is a method of gathering information from a sample of elements/people, considered to be a representative of the research population, traditionally with the intention of generalizing the results to the larger population. The sampling in a survey is often based on a census of the research population, as a baseline for drawing a representative sample.

Both census and survey recognize the universe of study which defines the population under consideration. They simultaneously use various tools and techniques of data collection like questionnaires, interview schedules, interviews, and non response follow-up techniques etc., both need to process and edit the data, and the susceptibility to various sources of error.

5.2 CENSUS

Let us discuss certain basic issues related to census.

5.2.1 What is Census?

Census refers to the complete enumeration of a universe. A universe may be a place or a specific locality, a group of people, or objects/ elements of interest from which data is collected. The population of a census can vary according to the focus or need of the research. A census is an attempt to list all elements/units/members in a group and to measure one or more characteristics of those elements/units/members. The most common are census of with national population, housing census other types of census include agriculture, animal, business, farms, cars from an assembly line, traffic censuses and so on. Census is a quantitative research method and the data collected is analyzed with the use of statistics.

Box 5.1 Census Moment

Census in most countries of the world is conducted in years ending in 0 or 1. In India, the census is conducted in years ending in 1. International comparability is thus maintained. Usually, a day as well as "census moment" is fixed for the census. In India, the "census moment" now is the sunrise of 1st March, of the census year. The fixing of the "census moment" helps the enumerators to decide which persons are to be included in the census. The persons born after the census moment or the persons dying before the census moment are to be excluded from the census.

Source: https://censusindia.gov.in/Data_Products/Library/Indian_perceptive_link/Census_Objectives_link/censusobjectives.htm)

While the size of the population under consideration is dependent on area of research and can thus vary (in size), being a quantitative method census usually

deals with large numbers. One of the major advantages of census method is accuracy as each and every unit of the population is studied before drawing any conclusions of the research. When more and more data are collected the degree of correctness of the information also increases. Thus the results based on this method are also expected to be less biased. Data collected through census method allows opportunity for intensive study and analysis due to the enormity of the data collected.

Today, census is well recognised for its advantages for maintaining national level demographic figures, which are comparable on a periodic scale, regionally, nationally as well as internationally. Let us try to understand census better using the example of population census. A population census covers each person present and/or residing within its scope, without omission or duplication in the order to ensure completeness and accuracy of census data. The total population enumerated refers to one well defined point or period of time. The population figures have no meaning unless they refer to a well-defined territory. The territory covered, along with any changes in its area in successive censuses thus needs to be clearly and explicitly stated. A census can provide detailed information on all or most elements in the population, thereby enabling totals for rare population groups or small geographic areas. Thus a population census is the process of collecting, compiling, analyzing and disseminating demographic, social, cultural and economic data relating to all persons in the country, at a particular time in regularised intervals.

Box 5.2 History of Census in India

The history of census in India is compiled in Drop-in Article on Census- No. 5. The following account in drawn from the above mentioned source available at: censusindia.gov.in/Ad-Campaign/drop-in-articles/05-History of Census-in-India/pdf)

India has a long tradition of conducting census every ten years. The mention of some kind of population count during 800-600 BC is found in the Rig Veda. Written about 321-296 BC, Kautilya's Arthashastra laid stress on Census taking as a measure of state policy for the taxation purpose. The administrative report 'Ain-eAkbari' offered extensive data on population, industry, wealth etc. during the reign of Mughal ruler Akber the Great. In the year 1830, Henry Walter in Dacca conducted the first complete census of an Indian city. In this census following characteristics were included: sex, broad age group and houses with their amenities. The census of 1881 undertaken on February 17, 1881 by W.C. Plowden, Census Commissioner of India was a major step towards modern census. The first census of India after Independence was conducted in 1951 which was seventh in the series. In the present day, Census is conducted by the office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.

To conduct a population census, vast organisation and considerable resources (financial, logistical, managerial etc.) are needed. The census organisation has to

mobilize extensive administrative machinery with adequate legislative authority. This can be done only by National Government with the cooperation of States and Local Governments.

5.2.2 Uses of Census Data

Modern census data are commonly used for research and future projections; administrative policy and planning; business and marketing, and planning as a baseline for designing sample surveys by providing a sampling frame. Census also brings out the heterogeneity in a population this helps in understanding the stratification of the population into subgroups, as well as recognizing the weightage that each group deserves based on related parameters.

Let us take a look at how census information can be utilized by taking the example of the Indian population census. As discussed earlier, the census in India is conducted every 10 years, Office of the registrar general and the Census commissioner of India, (https://censusindia.gov.in/Data_Products/Library/Indian_perceptive_link/Census_Objectives_link/censusobjectives.htm), provides a detailed description of the objectives, essentials and utility of census, let us look at some of these in terms of the ways in which the information collected is utilized.

(i) **Projections and Research**: Country-wide data on in terms of the urban-rural areas, geographic dispersion according to occupation, education, sex and age, economic characteristics and, social structure of population etc. analysis of the composition, distribution, and growth of the population accurate (both over a period of time as also projection for future). The changing patterns of various population distributions are provided by population census. Such appraisal is important for research and practical problems of national, industrial and commercial growth and management.

Census data serve as the baseline for computing various indicators. For example, census results, time-adjusted by migration statistics, can provide estimates of the future size, distribution and other characteristics of the population of the total country and sub-national areas. Or census data on fertility can provide a bench-mark check on the reliability of current birth statistics. Thus, census data can be utilized for making projections for the future as well as crosschecking the previous projections with factual reality.

(ii) **Administration, Policy and Planning**: One of the most basic of the administrative uses of census data is in the demarcation of constituencies and the allocation of representation on governing bodies. Detailed information on the geographic distribution of the population is indispensable for this purpose.

Demographic and economic characteristics of the population collected through census are essential for evaluation of economic and social problems, which must precede the determination of policy affecting economic and social development.

Businesses and industries can effectively use census data to make reliable estimates of consumer demand for variety of goods, commodities and services, based on the population or social group that they cater to. The information from census feeds into operational research providing for demand related to housing, furnishing, clothing, recreational facilities, medical supplies and so forth. Further, the local availability of labour for production and distribution of commodities can be easily determined by the use of census data.

(iii) **Recognising the heterogeneity of the population**: Census provides the official counts used to assign the number of elected representatives to regions. The social and cultural data collected in the census is employed to determine the total number of seats to be reserved for women, members of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other socially marginal groups in the House of People and the Legislative Assemblies of the States.

(iv) **Census as frame for Sample Surveys**: Size of populations as also other characteristics of the population. This makes its necessary to conduct regular inter-census sample survey. These surveys provide updated and detailed data on many characteristics that are usually investigated in population census conducted intervals of ten years.

Box 5.3 Essential features of Census

- It is a quantitative research method.
- It advocates a systematic, standardized data collection based on predetermined parameters.
- It is defined by a specific universe (which can be a territorial region, a group of people, or objects or elements like crops, vehicles etc.).
- Census is defined by a point or period of time.
- It covers every element of the universe or population of study, without omission or duplication.

The census can provide the frame for scientific design of surveys, by pointing towards the size of a representative sample, the strata that might be considered for the sample (economic categories like household income, property and asset, land holding or social categories like gender, age, caste, class, identity and so on,) etc. The results from a survey can be cross checked and compared with census computations provided the parameters and definitions of enquiry are in alignment with each other. A sample might utilize the same units of measure as utilized by the census for the purposes of uniformity.

Check Your Progress 1

1) What is meant by census?

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2) Outline four ways in which population census is utilized in India.

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5.3 SURVEY

Survey is a method of collecting information from a sample of the population. A sample is a subset of units in a population, selected to represent all units in a population of interest. It is a partial enumeration because it is a count from part of the population. Information from the sampled units is used to estimate the characteristics for the entire population of interest. Surveys come in many different forms and have a wide variety of purposes. Unlike a census, they gather information from only a small sample of people (or farms, businesses or other units, depending on the purpose of the study). Information is collected by means of standardized questions so that every individual/unit surveyed responds to and is evaluated for exactly the same question. Data is gathered to study demographic information, knowledge, opinions, behavior, attitudes, habits, desires, values and beliefs etc. Survey as a method seeks to identify principles on the sample design, data collection instruments, statistical adjustment of data and data processing. A survey can be used for both quantitative and qualitative research.

5.3.1 What is Survey Research?

Traditionally, surveys are recognised as a part of quantitative research, and are vastly used as such till date. In quantitative research the sample is scientifically chosen so that each individual in the population has a known chance of selection. In this way, the results can be reliably projected to the larger public. Thus the sample must be comprehensive in its design and extensive enough to provide a reliable representation of the whole population.

The objective is not to describe the particular individuals who by chance are part of the sample, but to obtain a statistical profile of the population. Individual respondents are not identified. Survey's results are presented in the form of summaries, such as statistical tables and charts.

A survey can be used to acquire demographic and socio-economic profile of a population, however it can also be used for knowledge, opinions, behavior, and attitudes etc., however it misses out on personal feelings or thoughts on the situation.

5.3.2 Advantages and Disadvantages of Survey Research

Survey research has the following advantages:

(i) It is inexpensive and less time consuming with in-depth fieldwork-based research.

(ii) It has a wide coverage (i.e. a large section of population can be covered through survey research) Also, survey research can be carried out in remote locations through e-mails, telephone etc.

(iii) Many questions can be asked through a survey.

(iv) Since the same set of question is asked to the whole sample, it is possible to draw comparisons.

Survey research has the following disadvantages:

(i) Sometimes, it is difficult to frame question that are relevant to/ can be answered by everyone included in the sample.

(ii) It is in- flexible in the sample.

(iii) These is a likelihood that respondents do not answer all the question or not provide reliable data.

(iv) Socio-economic context is often ignored.

5.4 COMPARISON BETWEEN CENSUS AND SURVEY

Census and Survey are both research methods that guide the collection of data in a research process. While census enumerates every unit of the population, survey is based on a sample or subset of the population (based on the parameters of the research). As survey (especially in quantitative research) works though a representative sample of the population, census often forms the baseline for designing sample surveys by providing a sampling frame. They use standardized patterns of information collection to facilitate comparative analysis; future projections; administrative policy and planning; business marketing, and planning. Surveys can also provide information on opinions, behavior, attitudes, habits, desires, values and beliefs etc, and are used in both quantitative and qualitative research. Census usually needs a large amount of resources in terms of administration, finance, logistics, manpower and time. In comparison with census, a survey based on sample collection (for the same research) is less resource intensive. Both census and survey are valuable research methods, and their use needs to be dictated by the need of the research.

Sl. No.	Census	Survey
1	Census is used for quantitative research.	Survey is used in both quantitative and qualitative research.
2	Complete enumeration: Census is a systematic method that requires collecting recording of data about all the members of the population.	Partial enumeration: Survey considers a subset of the population selected to represent the entire group, in all its characteristics.

3	Census is best suited for a population of heterogeneous nature.	Survey is better suited for homogeneous social groups.
4	As census accounts for every unit of the population, the data when analyzed has greater accuracy and reliability.	There are predictable chances of errors in the results drawn from the sample
5	Benchmark data may be obtained for future studies and baseline for drawing sample for surveys.	Interim surveys can be utilized to draw enhanced statistical projections form census data
6	Census leads to numerical enumerations of the population.	Survey can gather information on opinions, behaviour, attitudes, habits, desires, values and beliefs
7	Census requires considerable resources (administrative, financial, logistical, managerial etc.)	A survey requires comparatively less resources as the enumeration of a sample is easier than the whole.
8	Census is time consuming.	A survey requires comparatively less time.

Check Your Progress 2

1) What is meant by a survey?

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2) Fill in the blanks

(i) Survey considers a …… of the population.

(ii) Survey is better suited for …… population.

(iii) Voting behaviour can be studied through ……method.

5.5 LET US SUM UP

In this Unit we have learnt about the research methods ‘census’ and ‘survey’. We looked at how census is utilized in the Indian context to understand its operationalisation. We consolidated this information to understand the properties, advantages and disadvantages of census. We continued on our journey to lean

about survey and how it can be used as for both quantitative and qualitative research, finally closing with a comparison between census and survey.

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5.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1) Census or complete enumeration is a systematic (research) method of collecting and recording data of all units/members of the (research) population. It is best suited for a population of heterogeneous nature and uses statistics to provide quantitative or numerical enumerations of the population. As census accounts for every unit of the population, the data when analyzed has greater accuracy and reliability.

2) Population census is utilized in India in the following ways:

   a. Projections and Research: The population census provides indispensable data for scientific analysis and appraisal of the composition, distribution and past and prospective growth of the population.

   b. Administration, Policy and Planning: Detailed information on the geographic distribution of the population is used for demarcation of constituencies and the allocation of representation on governing bodies

c. Recognising the heterogeneity of the population: Social and cultural data collected in the census is employed to determine the total number of seats to be reserved for women, members of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other socially marginal groups in the House of People and the Legislative Assemblies of the States.

d. Census as frame for Sample Surveys: Census forms the basis for sampling to inter-census informational updates.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Survey is a method of collecting information from a sample/subset of the population. It is a partial enumeration where information from the sampled units is used to estimate the characteristics for the entire population of interest. Survey can be used for both quantitative and qualitative research.

2) (i) sample

(ii) homogeneous

(iii) survey

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UNIT 8: RELIGION AND SOCIETY AMONG THE COORGS -M.N. SRINIVAS*

Structure

8.0 Objectives

8.1 Introduction to the book

8.2 Chapter 1-Introductory

8.3 Chapter 2- Social Structure

8.4 Chapter 3 and 4-The Ritual Idiom of Coorgs: The Ritual Complex of Mangala and Concepts of Pole and Madi

8.5 Chapter 5-The Cult of the Okka

8.6 Chapter 6-The Cults of the Larger Social Units

8.7 Chapter 7-Hinduism -Religion and Society

8. 8 Let us Sum Up

8..9 References

8.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

8.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will know:

- why this ethnographic work holds significance in Anthropology.
- the generic manner in which the book is written.
- the broad contents of each chapter of the book.
- the theoretical concepts that the book proposed.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Prof. M. N. Srinivas' book *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India (published in* 1952, Oxford: Clarendon Press) was a seminal work in the understanding of the Indian society. It challenged the, then prevalent concept of the Indian Caste system, as perceived by the dominant paradigm of western anthropologists, and brought forth a new intellectual framework for understanding Hindu society under the structural functional school of thought. It raised questions on notion of caste as static and unchanging, and brought the omnipresence of social change into focus.

Srinivas earned a double doctorate, first from the University of Bombay under the mentorship of Professor G. S. Ghurye and subsequently from the University of Oxford under the mentorship of Prof. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Professor Evans-Pritchard. His primary collection of field data (for this book) was for a two-year period under the research grant fellowship awarded to him in 1940, in sociology by the University of Bombay. Majority of data

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collected for this ethnographic description was collected from an ethnological perspective. Later, when he went to Oxford, Srinivas was advised by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown to analyse the same field data with a different theoretical lens, reflecting on the inter-relation between religion and society, instead of choosing a different topic of exploration. While the data collected for the book was from the field work conducted, Srinivas' understanding of the field came from his long association and belongingness to the geographical region of the study. Radcliffe-Brown reflects in the preface of the book that this gave him a better understanding of the Indian social reality as compared to a western scholar; however Srinivas' key reflections were for the caste reality in the south of India and then its subsequent association with the overall Indian Sanskritic Hindu ideas.

Radcliffe-Brown in the preface of the book reflects that "one major problem is that of the social function of religion-how religion contributes to the existence of society as an ordered and continuing system of relationships amongst human beings?" (Srinivas, 1952: vii). The book brings to light how religion is intertwined with the social life of people through everyday practices; ideas of purity and pollutions; auspicious and inauspicious; rites, rituals and festivals; inter-caste distance, exceptions and mobility; that create social structural solidarities which are layered as well as overlapping.

The book effectively uses secondary literature and previous scholarly writings of the area and people to map the regions history. It also displays a constructive use of oral tradition, folklores, ballads, metaphors, proverbs and local sayings to breathe life into the ethnography. The ethnography itself is an analytical description, where practice is continuously deciphered and contextualised with the topic under discussion and the larger frames of reference. Further, the ethnography admits to certain generalisations in an effort to simplify the understanding of concepts as well as practices, and also makes a continued effort to quote exceptions to the generalisations being made.

This book is a reflection of an ethnographic present, ie. it is written as an existing social reality; however, it has to be studied in a contextual time frame. Today, it forms a baseline archival work for a comparative analysis of the Coorgs across time, but it is reflective of theoretical concepts that were unique to the then academic sphere and hold relevance in contemporary times as well.

The book is divided into eight chapters. Let us now look at each chapter for its content and theoretical reflection, some key concepts and the manner in which it is written. As the work is 'frozen in time'* around the colonial and post-colonial period, this unit is also written in present-tense.

8.2 CHAPTER 1- INTRODUCTORY

The book begins with situating the Coorgs in their geographical locale vis-a-vis the terrain, topography, flora and fauna, pointing at its relative isolation and the fact that regimes of power through history, used this relative isolation to their advantage; and though there has been improvement in the

* As described by Pro. Andre Beteille, in the introduction of the reprint of the book in 2003, by Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

infrastructure of roads under the British rule, the accessibility to the area remains restricted. In this the Coorgs seem to be a distinct community in occupation of the forested mountains of Coorg for many centuries, and with a way of life of their own, as an agricultural community with rice as their main crop.

Inspite of isolation there is reflection on contact with neighbours and mobility (though difficult) for trade and pilgrimage, on a seasonal basis, over time. The chapter reflects on cultural diversity and contiguity within the small region of Coorg by marking out linguistic areas and shared commonalities between languages. It proposes the conception of the Coorg village in contrast with what is recognised as village in other parts of South India (ie. Kannada, Telugu, or Tamil country), which are cluster villages. The Coorg villages consist of households that are attached to their ancestral estate (with their associated satellite houses and hutments). The households live far from each other, on different hills with valleys in between, creating an illusion that the village lacks boundaries. However, the boundaries are recognised by the people of the village in their sense of unity against other villages, which were in the past entities of feud and by that virtues still carry a sense of rivalry. The significance of villages is apparent from the fact that the 1931 census reflects that majority of the Coorg population was rural in nature (majority being Hindus).

The chapter reflects on the 1931 census to (for the first time) bring forth the idea of social mobility, pointing out that the census enumeration found 44,585 Kodagi -speakers though the total number of Coorgs was only 41,026. Kodagi is spoken by Coorgs at home. As Coorgs are the dominant caste in the area, several castes and tribes have taken over the language, this is followed by an attempt to imitate Coorgs in dress, customs, and manner leading to the subsequent inclusion of non-Coorgs as Coorgs, as was the case in the 1931 census as well.

The Chapter traces the history of Coorg from the 9th century onwards through a close inspection of various volumes of the Imperial Gazetteer of India. It documents the rule of various Hindu kings (and their Chiefs and Nayaks) over different sections of Coorg; and subsequently the incorporation of Coors into i) land taxation, ii) as warriors in the *Raja's* (king's) troop and ii) an administrative system for resolution of disputes. The Coorgs stood strong with the Hindu kings, they rebelled against the Muslims in 1782, for this they were driven out of their land by Tipu Sultan in 1784; however, the Coorgs who had escaped were reinstated in 1799 when the British Occupied the land and handed over its management back to the Hindu king Vira Raja IV. At the time of reinstating the Coorgs were brought under the system of land tenure referred to as the *jamma*, which along with the allocation of hereditary cultivable land established a liability of military service on the Raja's troop. Many Coorgs held important position in the Raja's court and occasionally some members of the royal family married Coorgs. The closeness that the Coorgs enjoyed with the Rajas led to their adopting the Hindu ways (especially the Shaivite influence) and helped in the spread of the culture and religion. The Introductory Chapter thus establishes the historicity of the Coorgs and their indoctrination into the Hindu folds.

The chapter ends with the social change brought about by the shift in agrarian practices from the cultivation of rice towards coffee plantation. Some Britishers also took up coffee plantation in the Coorg region. This along with abolition of slavery by the British rule led to a flux in the social structure. The slaves were from the lower caste while the masters were from the higher caste. Due to better economic prospects the freed slaves chose to leave their associated household (inspite of there being folklores describing strong interpersonal relations between a slave and the master). This led to lack of labour in the Coorg ancestral land as well as a flux in the social structure. However, once an annual remuneration decided for the lower caste labourers the structure re-established itself.

8.3 CHAPTER 2-SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The second chapter introduces the concepts of Sanskritization, Horizontal Solidarity and Vertical Solidarity. The ideas propounded here are carried forward through the rest of the book.

The caste system was hitherto understood by scholars and the western world as a religiously sanctioned Brahminical overarching varna system of fivefold rigid/ unchanging hierarchy; with the Brahmins at the head, followed in order by the Kshatriyas the aristocracy or the warriors, Vaishyas the traders, Shudras the servants and labourers, and, lastly the Untouchables. This is challenged by the concept of Sanskritization. The ideas of social mobility which was pointed at in the first chapter was further emphasised through the reality that castes are in practice divided into sub-castes or *jatis* "which is a very small endogamous group practising a traditional occupation and enjoying a certain amount of cultural, ritual, and juridical autonomy" (pg. 24) in a linguistic region. Each *jati* identifies with a broad scale of hierarchy through the caste categories of the Vama system. This helps them define their own identity as well as the hierarchy of social groups from other regions. The subcastes of the middle rungs of the hierarchy (though prohibited in theory) have the possibility of upwards social mobility through the adoption of practices, customs, rituals, pantheon etc. of the higher caste. Moreover, dominant subcastes of a region can also claim superiority over other competing subcastes and over time proclaims higher status in the caste hierarchy. This process of upward social mobility has been called 'Sanskritization'. The term is preferred to 'Brahminization' as the upwardly mobile subcastes may not necessarily adopt vedic rites, as is evident from the Coorgs themselves. Chapter one constructs the incorporation of Coorgs into the Hindu fold through history including their adoption of the Hindu pantheon as Shaivites. Coorgs identify themselves as Kshatriyas (or the warrior caste) which was solidified by their association with the Rajas; through positions in their courts as well as military service in the Raja's troops. They are now indeed recognised as such, in the caste hierarchy. There are also various myths associated with Coorgs being descendants of caste intermarriages of the higher varnas of the Hindu caste system. However, the Kshatriyas of the varna system are entitled to perform certain rituals at which sacred verses (mantras) from the Vedas are recited by the priests, the Coorgs do not follow these practices during the naming ceremony of the child, marriages, or during ceremonies of death. Thus, inspite of having

a place in the caste hierarchy and a recognition in the overall religious system the Coorgs have not taken to certain 'caste associated' Brahmanical practices.

On one hand social groups outside of Hinduism have been assimilated into its folds and in the other the castes in the middle rungs try to move upwards in the caste hierarchy. "The tendency of the lower castes to imitate the higher has been a powerful factor in the spread of Sanskritic ritual and customs, and in the achievement of a certain amount of cultural uniformity not only throughout the caste scale, but over the entire length and breadth of lndia" (pg.30).

Caste has a tendency to stress horizontal ties that cut across territorial boundaries, this has been recognised under the concept of 'horizontal solidarity'. It unites members of the same caste living in different villages and distinguishes them from other castes in the same village. Sub-castes enjoy juridical autonomy (though this autonomy can be challenged in the courts, since the British regime). Every *jati/*sub caste, from a particular village or a group of neighbouring villages, constitutes a caste court which resolves internal disputes and punishes caste offences. Thus, the sub castes are well aware of their norms and values. As, mentioned earlier the *jatis* are endogamous and monopolise certain economic activities, the skills of which are passed down from generation to generation within the caste boundaries. These skills make them a part of an intersectional social structure ie. the caste hierarchical structure, which is vertical in nature.

The vertical hierarchy created by the caste structure governs the inter-caste relations through the concept of pollution. Contact of any kind, touching, dining (exchange of food and water), sex, and other relations between castes which are structurally distant results in the higher of the two castes being polluted. Pollution can only be overcome through purificatory rites. Contact is culturally defined and might include the maintenance of a prescribed physical distance. Inspite of this, castes occupying different hierarchies share an interdependence. An Indian village usually consists of a few subcastes which are mutually dependent and also possess certain interests in common leading to what is conceptualised here as 'vertical solidarity'. The Chapter presents the different sub-castes present in a Coorg village and their respective positions with respect to their traditional profession and subsequent social status. However, vertical solidarity is maintained, beyond the mere interdependency of economic needs, through ritual roles in both mourning as well as household and village festivals. The most prominent castes that the Coorgs interact with are the Brahmin or the priest, the *Kaniyas* who are astrologers, *Banna* is the caste which usually performs the rites prescribed by the *Kaniya;* further there are the blacksmith, carpenter, goldsmith, washerman and barber. These castes are again associated with their professional role; however, they also have special significance during festivities like the harvest festival were they provide ritually significant items to be used during the proceedings. The washerman provides ritually pure clothes for different occasions while the barber is indispensable because shaving and cutting of nails is important act of attaining ritual purity for the performance of rites (while the touch of the barber itself is defiling and needs purification). The *Meda* and *Poleya* are at the bottom of the caste

hierarchy. *Meda* provide artifacts like baskets, fish-traps, and receptacles of cane, vote reed, and bamboo; and are essential for Coorg festival, dance or hunt, where they beat their tom-tom. *Poleyas* are servants attached to the *okka* as household servants or agricultural labourers. The castes and professional categories mentioned here are blanket terms and consist of a number of sub-castes. These inter-caste relations are managed through prescribed annual remunerations at the time of harvest.

Sometimes ritual occasions stress the structural distance that prevails between the castes. However, some ritual roles place individuals from a lower caste, temporarily, in a superior position vis-a-vis the high castes. Further, some rites/rituals involve imperative participation and responsibilities of castes with which a social distance is maintained under usual circumstances, thus minimizing the structural distance.

It is important to note that horizontal and vertical solidarity are continuously negotiated to maintain a societal balance. Chapter 6 reiterates this when it mentions that "A village is a multi-caste association and the unity of the village always demands that caste-ties are checked sufficiently to prevent their overflowing the village and that unity with other castes occupying different positions in the hierarchy is stressed" (pg. 200-201).

This chapter continues to explain the social structure of the Coorgs vis-à-vis their inter-caste relations, the primary household (or the *okka*) and larger social groups like the neighbouring household or *okka* with whom friendship ties are maintained, the village and the *nad* (a group of villages). Within the inter caste relationship the chapter defines the role and services of each caste that the Coorgs interact with and draws a brief sketch of the ritual roles/significance that these castes play in various occasions within the Coorg household and the village. The Coorg household is described in relation with its ancestral affiliation and recognised through the bond of agnatic men, attached to the ancestral land, under the headship of a senior; whose wife takes on the responsibility and the management of the household and its women. Coorg being a warrior community (historically) based their relations on friendships and rivalry, in this there is recognition of neighbouring and friendly *okkas* with respect to a household, while the village is the smallest and most important of the territorial groups, and the *nad*, consisting of several villages is the next bigger group. This is also highlighted in Chapter 6 ie. "the widespread prevalence of feuds between villages and between *nads* tended to emphasize the unity of the village and check the segmentary action of caste" (Chapter 6, pg. 201). While historically created as an administrative unit, *nad* corresponds to the sentiments of the people. The chapter displays the system of authority within the *okka*, village and *nad* and the honour associated with their membership and protection. This honour is propagated through its identification within rituals and epitomised through folklore.

These units of solidarity introduced in this chapter are revisited again in the different chapters that follow.

Check Your Progress I

1. What are the key concepts that are introduced in Chapter two that form the mainstay of the book?

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2. Which are the prominent castes that the Coorgs interact with?

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8.4 CHAPTER 3 AND 4 -THE RITUAL IDIOM OF COORGS: THE RITUAL COMPLEX OF MANGALA AND CONCEPTS OF POLE AND MADI

The third Chapter begins with the observation that "Every society has a body of ritual". These rituals might consist of individual acts, or a whole body of acts (ritual complexes) that repeat themselves either constantly or frequently and at times occasionally. The two chapters trace the rituals within the social life of the Coorgs, beginning from the routine practice of salutation to more customary occasions as well as festivals. Chapter 3 reflects on significant occasions of life cycle referred to as *Mangala* which include marriage, the ear boring ceremony (representing social adulthood of males), building of a house, conferring of a bravery honour etc., all of which are performed on an auspicious day and thus recognisable as auspicious occasion. These occasions are marked by certain ritual complexes or *murta.* The Chapter continues to describing the mangala in detail, especially marriage. In this, chapter cites the ritual complex as a whole with respect to the household structure, the ceremonial rites, role of various household members, the role and significance of other castes and so on.

The chapter also brings out the ritual recognition of auspicious and in auspicious in various realms of life. It speaks of auspiciousness and in auspiciousness with reference to direction (south being inauspicious), place (kitchen, central hall, and south-western room of the ancestral home), food (rice and milk), cloth (cotton and silk), colour (black, white and red), marital status (married woman and a widow), animals (cobra and crow). It also speaks of sacredness or ritual purity which is usually attained through purificatory rites. Purity and pollution is further explained through occasions attached to pollution ie. women in their periods, the birth of a child and death, which are considered to be defiling. The chapter describes the whole ritual complex around auspicious and inauspicious occasions in a comparative frame. Within the auspicious occasions there are certain rites that bring the individuals central to the rituals in contact with lower castes leading to a state of pollution and thus in need of purification. Similarly, both an auspicious occasion like marriage as well death, demand certain rites that require a state of higher ritual purity. This highlights the fact that even in an occasion of pollution, performance of rites requires ritual purity.

The third chapter keeps shifting between the descriptive nuances of various auspicious and inauspicious occasion, in this it might be a little difficult to follow from time to time.

Chapter 4 elaborates on the concept of ritual purity of *madi*, and ritual impurity/pollution or *pole*. These concepts systematize and maintain the structural distance between different castes. One of the most important Untouchable castes are the Poley and Holey as both of which actually have the word *pole* attached to them. The chapter brings forth the realisation that the state of pollution is relative in nature. A lower caste individual is impure/polluted with reference to a higher caste, however within himself he is in a state of relative purity. Thus, an individual of any caste, under normal circumstances, is in a state of relative purity, with reference to his own caste. He has to gain ritual purity in order to perform certain rites, through prescribed purificatory acts. However, if the individual comes in contact with some one of a lower caste, whether in the state of ritual purity or normal state they get polluted, and have to undergo purificatory rites. Thus, "Ritual impurity, normal ritual status, and ritual purity form a hierarchy".

Further, Ritual purity might include aspects of physical purity or cleanliness, however mere physical cleanliness does not lead to ritual purity which is a culturally prescribed concept. Similar, parallel is also drawn with respect to death and mourning, which distinguishes grief from mourning. The mourning rites and mourning period are ritually prescribed thus an elderly death sees an elaborate ritual and long mourning period as compared to an infant. However, this does not necessarily represent the grief associated with the death.

The chapter builds on the ideas of purity and impurity through death rituals. This is especially significant as the state is of pollution but the individuals performing necessary rites have to be in a state of ritual purity. In this abstinence attached with ritual purity which include dietary restrictions, attire, contact with other caste, spouse etc. Such abstinence is also key to the ritual status of other auspicious occasions as well.

8.5 CHAPTER 5- THE CULT OF THE OKKA

"The *okka* or the patrilineal and patrilocal joint family is the basic group among Coorgs" (pg. 124). "Membership of an *okka* is acquired by birth, and the outside world always identifies a man with his *okka*" (pg. 124). "People who do not belong to an *okka* have no social existence" (pg. 124), thus if a child is born outside of a wedlock the elders of the community encourage the (allotment of) membership of the child in either the father or the mothers *okka*.

Chapter 5 brings out the relevance of the *okka* in the life of an individual. The *okka* has a continuity with the ancestral realm, where an individual after his death joins the 'body of apotheosized ancestors'. The ancestors are believed to look over the ancestral land, and are worshiped and propitiated from time to time. The ancestral land which is owned by the *okka* is held has a combined property and efforts are made to ensure that the land is not divided/split across generations. Thus, if the size of the household becomes too large, some members might construct and move to a subsidiary house on the land but the property remains combined. Every okka has a head, who is a senior agnatic male. The head of the household is responsible for delegation of duties and responsibilities among the men of the household. The household headman's wife is the mistress of the house and women

of the *okka* operate under her guidance and supervision. The *okka* is the official unit that finds recognition in the Coorg society and it must provide representation through its members in various activities related to the village and the *nad*.

The *okka* is an exogamous group and the marriage of its member is decided by the *okka*. The women post marriage become members of their conjugal *okka* however, they retain a symbolic membership in their natal okka as well. This chapter describes the legal aspects of marriage with respect to the rights of the woman and ritual of *sammanda* that fortifies these rights. There is a description of the rights and responsibilities related to different types of marriage, eventualities in case of widowhood or divorce, marriage for the continuity of an okkas which does not have any male descendants, the respective identity of children born and so on. There is also a reflection on the preference for levirate and cross-cousin marriage and how this leads to a solidarity between *okkas*. This is especially significant as women's relationship with reference to daughter-in-law with mother-in-law and sister-in-law's is seen strained relationships that might lead to a fraction in the *okka*. This relational struggle between has been referred to by Prof. Srinivas in his previous work 'Marriage and Family in Mysore' (1942). The chapter also reflects on the significance of the friends of the *okka* and continues to the next chapter which represents the village festival as the case example of social solidarity.

8.6 CHAPTER 6-THE CULTS OF THE LARGER SOCIAL UNITS

The village-deity has a significant role in the social life of the Coorgs. Inspite of being referred to as a village deity, the deity in question might be a combined deity of more than one village. The temples of these deities are simple and less ornate as compared to the Hindu temples; and the priest of the village deity may or may not be a Brahmin. There are times when the temple of the village deity might also consist of an outer sanctum of deities belonging to the lower caste. Thus, the religious pantheon is also representative of the social reality of castes. Most village festivals worshipping their deities take place around the same time, but among villages that hold key festivities, there is an understanding that their festivities will be prime on alternate years. The members of every caste in the village, including the Poleyas, attend the meeting or the village-assembly facilitating the decisions related to the festivities, and everyone in the village has to observe certain rules and restrictions during the festival. The festival might at times require the Poleyas to remain indoors and out of view for a period of time, emphasising the social distance between castes. Different *okkas* have designated duties at times of the festival and the *Bannas* and *Maleyas* (castes) officiate as oracles and dancers; and are responsible for the sacrifice of animals. In case of the village temples that have a brahmin priest the rituals related with animal sacrifice is officiated by a non-brahmin priest post which the vicinity is purified and the brahmin priest takes over the proceedings of the rest of the rituals. The festivities are marked by competitions between various villages. There are designated parts of the festivities where the Poleyas join in, ensuring vertical solidarity through a combined celebration. The Poleyas

are usually the receivers of an annual remuneration and goods from the Coorgs, during the festival they make token returns which, while negligible economically, stress on the goodwill prevalent between the various sections of a village community. The festivals of village-deities, the village harvest festival etc. usually culminate with a dinner for the entire village. The village dinner is rightly called 'village harmony', as it maintains and increases the harmony of the village. Chapter 6 describes the village festivals in great details, including the popular festivals, the local deities and their hinduised version, the associated rituals and the inter-caste roles. This takes us to the absorption of local deities in the larger pantheon of Hindu deities in the next chapter.

8.7 CHAPTER 7- HINDUISM AND CHAPTER 8 -RELIGION AND SOCIETY

Hinduism like any other religion is not static. It both influences and is influenced by the political and social forces of the time. The process of Sanskritization has continued to entrance outlying group into the folds of Hinduism through the Sanskritic deities assuming different forms in their travels all over India as well as local deities assuming Sanskritic labels and forms. This leads to the spread of Sanskritic rites, and the increasing Sanskritization of non-Sanskritic rites. Sanskritic Hinduism provides certain common values to all Hindus; and the possession of common values knits people together into a community. In case of the Coorgs this is exenterated by their visits to regional shrines and temple and the comparison of Kaveri to Ganga in terms of a pious river.

The complete absorption of any group of people into the Hindu fold is indicated by their becoming a caste. Further, as is mentioned in chapter 2, once the group becomes a part of the caste hierarchy it tries to sanskritize itself further through upward social mobility by the adoption of the customs and rituals of the higher caste. This explanation has been illustrated through various examples in Chapter 7.

Chapter 8, 'Religion And Society' sum up the book by reiterating the Coorg social life and the significance of ritual in its every nook and corner, and the myths and folklores that continuously sanskritize the local deities into the Hindu pantheon. The book however has a bit of an abrupt end.

Check your Progress II

3. What is an *Okka*?

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4. How does the process of Sanskritization has continued to entrance outlying group into the folds of Hinduism?

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8. 8 LET US SUM UP

This book brings out the reality of how deeply religion is intertwined within the Coorg social life. With Coorgs as the focus of the ethnography the book builds of the structural functional reality of horizontal solidarity and vertical solidarity. It takes a retrospective historical approach to bring forth the ideas of social change and sanskritization which the book elucidates is a continuous process. There are times that some parts of the book are repetitive, but it is essential to create a common bridge between what was placed in a different chapter setting to a greater elaboration of the same idea in another chapter. In this, the book continuously keeps rereferring to what has been said in order to bring things into context, and remains a must read towards understanding a thorough descriptive ethnography.

8.9 REFERENCE

Srinivas, M. N. 1952. *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

8.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. The key concepts introduced in Chapter two, that form the mainstay of the book, are of horizontal solidarity, vertical solidarity, Sanskritization and social change.
2. The most prominent castes that the Coorgs interact with are the Brahmin or the priest, the *Kaniyas* who are astrologers, *Banna* or the caste which usually performs the rites prescribed by the *Kaniya;* the blacksmith, carpenter, goldsmith, washerman and barber and the *Meda* and *Poleya*s. The *Meda* and *Poleya*s are at the bottom of the caste hierarchy. The castes and professional categories mentioned here are blanket terms and consist of a number of sub-castes. Vertical solidarity is maintained with these castes beyond the mere interdependency of economic needs, through ritual roles in both mourning as well as household and village festivals.
3. The *okka* or the patrilineal and patrilocal joint family is the basic group among Coorgs. It is an exogamous group attached to an ancestral land. The membership of an *okka* is acquired by birth, and the outside world always identifies a man with his *okka*. Coorgs who do not belong to an *okka* have no social existence.
4. The process of Sanskritization has continued to entrance outlying group into the folds of Hinduism through the Sanskritic deities assuming different forms in their travels all over India as well as local deities assuming Sanskritic labels and forms. This leads to the spread of Sanskritic rites, and the increasing Sanskritization of non-Sanskritic rites. Sanskritic Hinduism provides certain common values to all Hindus; and the possession of common values knits people together into a community. The complete absorption of any group of people into the Hindu fold is indicated by their becoming a caste.

UNIT 3 CULTURE AREA THEORIES*

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- 3.2.1 British School of thought
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- 3.2.3 American School and Culture Area Theories

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3.4 Summary

3.5 References

3.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

In this unit, the learners will be able to:

- explore the historical, theoretical and methodological significance of the culture area concept;
- understand the contributions of various scholars whose works influenced the concept, building up to the culture area theories; and
- critically assess why the culture area concept lost its significance.

3.0 INTRODUCTION

It has often been found that neighbouring cultures share common cultural traits which might include food, dressing pattern, festivals, rituals and ceremonies. This commonality of traits often results in the definition of geographical areas based on the cultural inclination (the more obvious or prominent cultural display/ manifestation). For example, one often hears of the term Punjabi culture or that north of India is represented by Punjabi culture, why is this the case? Is the north of India or the geographical region of Punjab indeed a homogenous culture? If not, then why is it that they are termed as such, and how and why is it that they have shared cultural traits? One of the possible answers to why cultures find association with geography (at a large scale) is that even a casual sorting of cultural information like language, social institutions, material culture and even social behavioural patterns can throw up certain commonalities between specific areas.

The culture area concept attempted to provide a method to such casual observations to make it acceptable as an anthropological theory. The culture area concept was developed in the early 1900s, along with the theories of diffusion and historicism. It was based in the western context in a time period when the European powers were still colonising the rest of the world. Anthropology as a

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discipline was already establishing itself as the study of the 'other' culture (usually termed as 'primitive' at that point of time). However, there was realisation within the discipline that while western exploration had led to the discovery of a number of 'other' cultures, the very process of colonisation was also leading to the diminishing and disappearance of a number of these cultures. In this, anthropologists recognised an urgent need to document information from these 'disappearing' cultures. American anthropologists, namely Franz Boas and his students, did pioneering work in this area by conducting extensive fieldwork to collect enormous amounts of data about the 'disappearing' native cultures of North America.There was however, no framework for organising this data. It is in the sorting of the empirical data by spatially tracing (cultural) traits that the culture area concept was born.

The concept of culture area was first applied by ethnologist Clark Wissler in order to provide a theoretical framework for the information being generated. A culture area was defined as a geographical/cultural region whose population and groups share important common identifiable cultural traits, such as language, tools and material culture, kinship, social organisation, and cultural history. Therefore, groups sharing similar traits in a geographical region would be classed in a single culture area. Culture area highlighted the historical relationships between different cultures over geographical spaces and recognised the areas governed by the same or a dominant culture. This cultural relationship was understood in terms of cultural phases taking into consideration the dimension of time to understand historical relationships. Russell Gordon Smith (1929) in his paper 'The Concept of the Culture-area' explains that, "the culture-area is an empirical grouping of cultural data cultures in which the unit of investigation and the principle of classification have been derived from direct observation of the facts and of their temporal and spatial distributions" (Smith 1929: 421).

George W. Hill (1941) in his paper 'The use of Culture Area Concept in Social Research' points out that "A technique of classification is a cornerstone of scientific research. Prior to the development of such a system, a discipline remains speculative and has little objectivity. Following the evolutionary system, the culture area provides the much-needed classification in Anthropology" (Hill 1941: 39). This statement brings to light the fact that anthropology was still positioning itself as a scientific discipline in the 'positivists' era, and in that the culture area concept provided it with the much-needed framework to prove its credibility, while it disengaged itself from the theory of unilinear evolution of humankind.

Let us, in the next subsection, understand how the critiques to the classical evolutionary school of thought lead to a shift in anthropological thought towards culture area concept.

3.1 HISTORICAL TRAJECTORY OF THOUGHT

The concept of culture area developed as an alternate explanation to unilinear evolution. It also borrowed from other disciplines like natural science and museology, in developing a theoretical framework to understand cultural data. This section provides a background on how the critique of evolutionism and a multidisciplinary influence helped in the development of the concept.

3.1.1 A Critique of Unilinear Evolution

The classical evolutionary theory came into being in the late 1800s and has been criticised as an ethnocentric theory putting the western civilization at the pinnacle of development.The evolutionists proposed that humans share a set of characteristics and modes of thinking that transcend individual cultures (psychic unity of mankind) and attributed similarity of cultural traits between geographically separated areas to similar evolutionary pattern. As more and more anthropological information started getting collected, it led to the ideation of two alternate possibilities:

a) independent local innovation (local inventions one place after another) and

b) diffusion (innovation are created in a few localities from where they spread over a wide area)

Evolutionary theory was a grand or nomothetic theory. In contrast we have the development of Historical Particularism in America focused on the historical trajectory of unique cultures. Diffusionism was the first approach devised to accomplish this type of historical approach to cultural investigation. As the term suggests diffusionism studied the dispersal of culture traits from its place of origin to other places. Both Historicism and Diffusionism contributed to the concept of culture area, however before dwelling into these thoughts in details and how they contributed to the culture area concept let us look at how natural sciences contributed to the idea of culture area concept.

3.1.2 Influence of Biological Sciences and Museology

Culture area concept finds its influence from the systematised presentation and classification of biological data in terms of typology and taxonomy which can be traced back to Swedish botanist Carolus Linnaeus, French biologist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck and others who used morphology or physical structures of organisms (like flowers, shells, and bones) to illustrate the relatedness between groups of living beings.

This idea was furthered in museology by the Danish archaeologist, Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, curator of the National Museum of Denmark (1816–65) who in his study of the *bracteate*, a type of ancient pendant found in northern Europe, charted a variety of morphological categories, such as insignia and size. By combining the typologies thus created, he showed that these Nordic ornaments had developed from earlier Roman coins. This depicted the diffusion of a cultural item through geographical space, resulting in subsequent changes in the item through its travel.

Vadstena Bracteate

Courtesy of Kungl. History of Witness and the Academy of Antiquities, Stockholm.Vadstena bracteate - Wikipedia

This supported the idea of diffusion (a theoretical perspective that influenced the idea of culture area). The political implications of the innovation-diffusion debate were profound. It resulted in the methodological problem of how one might scientifically determine the primacy of either process. Otis T. Mason, curator of ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution (1884–1908), suggested one such method in a report of his program for organizing the museum exhibits for the United States National Museum, Mason (1886). He was among the first to use the term 'culture area', however his focus was on presentation of cultural material. He believed that if a biologist could study variations in the wing form of birds, ultimately creating a sequence from the wing's most basal to its most advanced form, an ethnologist could apply the same methods to see if a cultural trait (such as basketry) had been independently developed or has spread through. According to Mason, a series of such studies, analysing a multitude of traits, would eventually result in a preponderance of evidence supporting either innovation or diffusion, thus resolving the question of causation in cultural evolution.

Mason was however criticised by Franz Boas that, in ranking cultures as higher or lower according to their traits, the comparative method Mason adopted was intrinsically biased and, therefore, not scientific. Boas writes that "there is one fundamental difference between biological and cultural data which makes it impossible to transfer the methods of the one science to the other. Animal forms develop in divergent directions, and an intermingling of species that have once become distinct is negligible in the whole developmental history..…. Human thoughts, institutions, activities may spread from one social unit to another.…. Before morphological comparison can be attempted the extraneous elements due to cultural diffusion must be eliminated." (Boas 1932: 609)

Boas's assistant, Clark Wissler, succeeded him as the curator of the American Museum of Natural History. Culture area concept was developed in earnest by Clark Wissler, and given a theoretical perspective that could produce scientific laws while preserving the cross-cultural perspective essential to anthropology.

Before we dwell further into the culture area concept as proposed by Clark Wissler, let us first look at scholarly discussions that contributed to the culture area concept. As mentioned earlier, the culture area concept came into being as a methodological response to the innovation-diffusion debate, it is thus important to understand the thoughts around diffusion and its influence in the culture area concept.

Check Your Progress 1

1) Why did anthropological thought preference shift from classical socio-cultural evolution to historicism and diffusionism?

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2) How did biological sciences and museology contribute to the culture area concept?

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3) Who was Christian Jürgensen Thomsen?

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3.2 THEORETICAL CONTEXT

It is important for us to remember that the ideas of innovation and diffusion developed as a critique to the classical evolutionary theory. However, it was in continuation with the evolutionary theory itself, where social evolution took a more regional perspective and the ideas of cultural contact and diffusion were provided academic recognition. At this conjecture of anthropological history (late 1800s and early 1900s) extensive anthropological data was being collected. This data showed a commonality of traits among different tribes in a region. Further, as anthropologist acknowledged the need to study disappearing/vanishing tribes and there was a realisation that this disappearance is due to the colonising process, or cultural contact. Regional commonality of cultural traits and the reality of culture contact brought forth the idea of innovation and diffusion within the space of understanding social evolution and development of cultures.This shift in anthropological thought is usually studied under the ambit of Diffusionism. Diffusionism was represented by three distinct schools of thought: the British school, the German school and the American school as you have already read in Unit 2. Here in this section, we are giving a gist of the same for you to recapitulate.

3.2.1 British School of Thought

The **British school of diffusionism** was led by G. E. Smith and W. J. Perry. These scholars were known as Egyptologists. According to them all of culture and civilization was developed only once in ancient Egypt and diffused throughout the rest of the world through migration, colonisation and diffusion. Therefore, all cultures were tied together by a common origin (or psychic unity of humankind) and, as a result, worldwide cultural development could be viewed as a reaction of native cultures to this diffusion of culture from Egypt.

G. Elliot Smith was a great admirer of Egyptian civilization. According to him there were many English monuments which were secondary copy of the structure of pyramid. Smith travelled to Egypt, Japan, Cambodia, Malaysia, Indonesia to

study the architecture, where he found similarity among Egypt pyramids and Japanese pagoda, Cambodians temples, temples of Indonesia. From all of his studies he concluded that around 400 B.C culture traits of Egyptian monuments started spreading from Egypt to the other parts of the world. In his book "The Origin of Civilization" (1928), he emphasised that Egypt was the only centre of the culture, and that agriculture and subsequently the first civilisation emerged at the fertile bank of river Nile. Egyptian developed scientific methods like hydraulic system for controlling water, invented pottery, weaving, wheel, and script to write and began to live in cities. Government was formed, laws were formulated and religion prospered. The Egyptians developed systems of navigation and travelled far and wide to the different corner of the world in search of precious stone and metal. In this course of travel they spread the benefit of their civilization to the other part of the world. Thus, according to Smith there were two kinds of men, the civilized men of Egypt and natural men outside Egypt. Smith believed that a revolution came in natural men when they came in contact with civilized traits. Underlying smith idea is "uninventiveness of humankind" i.e., human is basically uninventive in nature, and invention, discovery began in Egypt.

W. J. Perry (1877-1949):W. J. Perry was a strong supporter of Smith, and agreed that cultural similarities were due to diffusion and not invention, and that Egypt was the citadel of civilization.

The Egyptologists were criticized for their narrow vision and the fact that they thought that man was uninventive, and though their thought of diffusion held certain interest, there was weakness in the evidence on the basis of which they formulated their theory.

3.2.2 German School

The German School of Diffusionism proposed the culture circle or *Kulterkreis* concept that conceptualised widening circles of culture trait complexes diffusing outwards from their point of origin. F. Ratzel (1884-1904) in his book "Anthropo-geography" (1892) carried forward the idea of culture circles. He argued that there is a strong relationship between territory and culture. He said that environment and climate played a major role in determining the culture circle. People living on mountains, near rivers and in deserts have different culture complex. Individuals continuously create innovations within these cultures circle and innovations migrate or diffuse to the neighbouring areas. "Anthropo-geography" conveyed that different culture circles could come up in different geographical terrains making it amenablefor migration and diffusion.Frobenius, a student of Ratzel,tried to utilise statistics to map the distribution of cultural traits thereby suggesting the idea ofgeographical statistics.

The German concept of culture circles was criticised for a number of reasons. Anthropologists realised that cultural phenomena is much too complex to be explained by the interaction of a small number of *Kulturkreise*. It spoke of contacts over unlikely distances and did not make allowances for independent invention. The proponents of the theory often mistook analogous features (those that appear similar but have differing origins) for homologous ones (those that appear similar because they share an origin) and thus compared phenomena that were not really comparable.

3.2.3 American School and Culture Area Theories

American school of thought saw the development of the concept of culture area into theory and practice under two key thinkers Clark Wissler and A L Kroeber, who had both enjoyed the mentorship of Franz Boas.

In the United States, Franz Boas was the first to formally propound the understanding of culture areas (Buckley 1989). He said that these areas were historical as well as geographical units: the spatial coefficients of processes of cultural growth through time. He identified the physical environment of culture areas, the "psychology" of the peoples inhabiting them, and the spread of technologies and other ideas as three independent variables governing cultural growth, or development, within culture areas over time (Boas 1896). He reflected on diffusion as a viable mechanism for culture exchanges among geographically adjacent areas. Boas argued that, one had to carry out detailed regional studies of individual cultures to discover the distribution of culture traits and to understand the individual processes of culture change at work. He stressed on the need for meticulous collection and organisation of ethnographic data on all aspects of (different) human societies. He maintained that only after information on the particulars of many different cultures had been gathered could generalisations about cultural development be made with any expectation of accuracy.Thus, while Boas recognised the relevance of culture area, he also felt that the need of the time was for anthropologists to study specific cultures in-depth. To this end, he sought to reconstruct the histories of specific cultures and focused on particularism of a society in terms of both its history and culture. He argued that many cultures developed independently, each based on its own unique set of circumstances such as geography, climate, resources and particular cultural borrowing. Based on this argument, reconstructing the history of individual cultures requires an in-depth investigation that compares groups of culture traits in specific geographical areas. Then the distribution of these culture traits must be plotted. Once the distribution of many sets of culture traits is plotted for a general geographic area, patterns of cultural borrowing may be determined. This allows the reconstruction of individual histories of specific cultures by investigating which of the cultural elements were borrowed and which were developed individually (Bock 1996:299).

The concept of culture area was however carried forward by Clark Wissler (1870-1947). He developed a view of culture that focused on its continuity over wide geographical areas. Since cross-cultural nomothetic studies require that the items to be compared be defined as rigorously as possible, Wissler became the first anthropologist after Tylor and the first American anthropologist to offer a definition of culture. He developed the concept of culture-area and age-area in his books *The American Indian* (1917*), Man and Culture* (1923) and *The Relation of Nature to Man* (1926).

In Wissler's hands culture area became a significant theory of culture change. It created a shift in the analytical focus from the culture and history of the specific social unit (as prescribed by Boas) to a concern with the trait-complex viewed in cross-cultural perspective (Freed. S. A and R. S. Freed, 1883). Unlike Boas, Wissler was looking to understand world history. He followed agriculture, the textile arts, architecture, and so on to create his picture of the western hemispheric history.

Culture area was chiefly determined by material traits and the economic base, but ceremonial and social trait-complexes were also used to distinguish them. Each culture area was perceived to have a culture center "from which culture influences seem to radiate" (Wissler 1917: 242). Thus, diffusion was seen as the basic process in the formation of a culture area. Wissler perceived the significance of focal points of growth, resulting in culminations definable in spatial (culture centres) and presumably temporal (cultural climaxes) terms. The traits radiated outwards from the focal points and the traits that reached the furthers were understood to be the oldest. Culture areas thus contained both:

a) a group of typical tribes that share most of the defining trait-complexes, and

b) marginal tribes that have fewer of the typical traits (Freed. S. A and R. S. Freed 1883).

Wissler tried to explain the relation of culture areas to environment. He said that environment does not produce a culture, but stabilises it. As (at many points) the culture must be adapted to the environment, the latter tends to hold it fast. Cultures therefore incline to change slowly once they have fitted themselves to a setting, and to enter a new environment with more difficulty than to spread over the whole of the natural area in which their form was worked out. If they do enter a new type of territory, they are subject to change. Once fitted to an environment, they are likely to alter radically only through some factor profoundly affecting subsistence. Wissler divided North America into ten culture areas where (according to Kroeber) subsistence areas seem to refer primarily to the basis of culture, and environment and ecological aspects also played a critical role. A. L. Kroeber recognised the significance of culture area theory, developed on it, as well as put the theory into practice by defining various culture areas among the North American tribes.

Alfred Louis Kroeber (1876-1960)- Kroeber referred to 'culture area' as an unfortunate designation in that it puts emphasis on the area, whereas it is usually the cultural content that is being primarily considered. Being from the Boasian school of thought, Kroeber believed in cultural relativism. He said that cultures occur in nature as wholes; and these wholes can never be entirely formulated through consideration of their elements, in this he critiqued Clark Wissler. He justified this with the example of the Navaho and Pueblos (or North Pacific Coast Indians) tribes. He pointed out that Navaho altar paintings may be the most developed in the Southwest, but Navaho culture is still close to that of the Pueblos and in many ways obviously dependent on it. So, he showed that at times a single trait can be very distinct in a culture and thus misleading if cultural traits are being followed, while holistic comparisons can provide a stronger association between cultures. The culture-area concept he thus believed should attempt to deal with such culture wholes.

Kroeber looked at geographic-ethnic culture-whole in its historical course, with the ultimate aim of searching for culture-historical laws. Kroeber applied the culture area approach to the ever-growing body of ethnographic and archaeological data worldwide. One of Kroeber's greatest works was the 'Handbook of the Indians of California' published in 1925. It brings forth culture areas and subareas, and their historic implications. Kroeber's enlarged interests in cultural areas and cultural continuities led to another of his major works, 'Cultural and Natural Areas in Native North America' (1939). Cultural and Natural Areas not only delineated cultural areas, but also related them to natural areas

and, more important, introduced the concept of cultural climax. Earlier element distribution studies had employed the concept of culture centers within areas, which were more complex and therefore presumed to be more inventive, and of margins, which were the simple, uninventive peripheral recipients of cultural achievements. Kroeber's concept of cultural climax avoided the implication that greatest complexity meant the locus of inventiveness, and called attention instead to cultural intensification or accumulation. He described this as 'hearth' or'climax area'. He wrote that "when part of a cultural substratum fluoresces into a level of achievement higher than the surrounding groups, mainly on the strength of its own initiative, it can be called a climax area. These areas almost inevitably serve as important centers of dispersal" (Kroeber 1939: 222-9). He went on to develop this context in sociological terms looking at golden and dark ages of great civilisations, including the Egyptian civilisation by referring to these periods as peaks and troughs of civilizational growth.

In his specific anthropological quest of visualising culture area, he plotted a real maps of California and North America on the basis of their culture area. Kroeber explained that the weakest feature of any mapping of culture wholes is also the most conspicuous: the boundaries. Where the influences from two culture climaxes or foci meet in equal strength is where a line must be drawn, if boundaries are to be indicated at all. Yet it is just there those differences often are slight. Two people classed as in separate areas yet adjoining each other along the inter-area boundary almost inevitably have much in common. It is probable that they normally have more traits in common with each other than with the people at the focal points of their respective areas. This is almost certain to be so where the distance from the foci is great and the boundary is not accentuated by any strong physical barrier or abrupt natural change. Kroeber provided an arial distribution of culture area, dividingNorth America into 84 areas and sub areas and all of these areas were clubbed under 7 grand areas. These 7 grand areas are Desert, Artic, Great Plains, Mountains, River Valleys, Coastal Plains and Terrains of rugged topography which do not constitute part of the remaining 6 other areas.

The concept of culture area held great significance in the trajectory of Anthropology. Julian Steward, another student of Boas developed six culture areas in South America, he connected to the prevalent environmental conditions. Steward traced different patterns of culture growth and diffusion within these cultural areas eventually leading to the 'School of Culture Ecology', within anthropology.

The culture area concept can be located in a time period when the western anthropologists were coming in touch with geographical areas consisting of native/ tribal/indigenous communities that had relatively less exposure with the colonising world. These communities had a social relation among each other and the anthropologists found that they often shared similarities in cultural practices, especially among contiguous tribes. It was believed that this similarity or continuity of cultural practices was due to diffusion among neighbouring tribes over a period of time. However, there was no documented record of this diffusion. Anthropologists, tried to construct this cultural history of where the cultural practices had originated as well as tribal commonality and continuity by mapping cultural spaces within geographical areas. Different anthropologist used the culture area concept for different purposes. The main proponents of the concept were from the American school of thought and looked at the concept from different

positions. Franz Boas utilised the concept to propagate an insight into creating a historical and cultural particularistic focus of studying a tribe holistically.Clark Wissler and A. L. Kroeber however, theorised culture area in a cross-cultural perspective cross-sectioned with time. Clark Wisslerused culture area to trace world history (especially of the western hemisphere), while Kroeber sought to uncover regionally individualised type or specific growth of culture while looking at cultures in more holistic terms.

The contemporary relevance of this concept can be seen in the persistence of the notion of area specialisation in anthropology whereschools as well as scholars are divided into specialists in China studies, or South Asian studies or Middle Eastern studies. Somewhere down the line the association of culture with geography remains and defines sub-disciplines within anthropology.

Check Your Progress 2

4) Name two Egyptologists.

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5) Who suggested the idea of geographical statistics?

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6) Which were the key books in which Clark Wissler developed the concept of culture-area and age-area?

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7) How did Franz Boas understand ‘culture area’?

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8) Name some salient works of A. L. Kroeber?

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9) Why did A. L. Kroeber refer to 'culture area' as an unfortunate designation?

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3.3 WHY DID 'CULTURE AREA CONCEPT' LOSE ITS STEAM?

Culture area theories were criticised for the tendency to portray people in a static and environmentally deterministic way. It was also pointed out that the theorists were selective about which and how many traits were focused on. In case of Kroeber (and through his own admission) the criteria for cultural comparison are found to be descriptive and subjective in nature.

The culture area concept lost its steam because it did not necessarily account for sudden culture contact and influence such as the colonial forces. The so-called vanishing cultures either perished or acculturated and changed due to exposure with the western world. The cultures had too many stimuli and influence tobe understood in their so called pristine or original form. This is not to say that cultures changed overnight, or that the cultural association (with neighbouring cultures) and practices suddenly changed, but the heterogeneity among them became prominent and pronounced. Further, over time the tribes being considered within cultural area gained a voice of their own, and spoke up about their representation/mis-representation. As culture area often created a geo-political identity of the tribe as well. In today's times culture still finds geographical (as was given in the introduction with the reference of Punjabi culture) references. However, one realised that cultural identity itself has many social forces at play. In that a geographic-historical perspective and association with neighbouring communities might play a significant role in understanding a culture, however a superimposed categorisation of researcher's perspective (of cultural distribution), devoid of communities' inputs, cannot remain free of critique.

Check Your Progress 3

10) What was the main critique against the culture area concept?

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3.4 SUMMARY

In the present unit we trace the journey of Culture Area Concept through its development. We looked at how its foundation was based in museology, and how it came to be conceived in the need for logical arrangement of ethnographic material. We looked at how the concept took from the idea of socio-cultural evolution; however, it was more concerned with the idea of innovation and diffusion in understanding cultural history. The unit also looked at how different schools of thought namely the British and the German school contributed towards the concept which was effusivelydeveloped by the American school of thought.

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3.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) Refer to section 3.1.1

2) Refer to section 3.1.2

3) Refer to section 3.1

4) Refer to section 3.2
5) Frobenius
6) *The American Indian* (1917*), Man and Culture* (1923) and *The Relation of Nature to Man* (1926).
7) Refer to section 3.2.
8) Refer to section 3.2
9) Refer to section 3.2
10) Refer to section 3.3

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UNIT 4 HISTORICAL PARTICULARISM AND CRITIQUE OF COMPARATIVE METHOD*

Contents

4.0 Introduction

4.1 Historical Trajectory of Thought

- 4.1.1 Classical Evolutionary Theory
- 4.1.2 Critique of the Evolutionary School and its Comparative Method

4.2 Franz Boas's influence on Anthropological Research

- 4 .2.1 Historical Particularism
- 4.2.2 Diffusion
- 4.2.3 Cultural Relativism

4.3 Franz Boas's Influence on Anthropological Fieldwork

4.4 A Critique of Franz Boas's Anthropological Thought

4.5 Summary

4.6 References

4.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

Learning Objectives

In this unit the learners would be acquainted with:

- the universal evolutionary thought that lead to the discipline of anthropology taking a racist directionand how the comparative method contributed to the same;
- Franz Boas'scritique of the comparative method and the various concepts proposed by him to understand culture of specific communities in holistic terms;
- why Boas insisted on the need for fieldwork to collect information of a culture from a holistic perspective and created an academic culture that carried this thought forward; and
- the reasons why the thinking of Franz Boas was critiqued by other scholars.

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Historical particularism is a concept which was developed by American anthropologist Franz Boas. He was among the key anthropologists who introduced the idea that culture was what differed between different kinds of people separated by race and ethnicity, and there were no inherent biological or irreducible differences between humans of any kind. He explained that all cultures are unique and cannot be compared to each other in hierarchical perspectives, as each is a product of its own historical development. Historical particularism was coupled with the ideas of diffusion and cultural relativism, and was advocated through extensive field work within anthropology.

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Historical particularism postulates that each culture has its own particular and unique history and anthropologists need to trace the historical development of specific cultures rather than attempt the construction of a grand evolutionary schema. As Boas focused on the specific histories of individual societies, his approach to anthropology is called historical particularism. Though Boas provided the concept of historical particularism, he did not coin the term. The term 'historical particularism' was coined by Marvin Harris in 1968.

In his paper 'The Aims of Anthropological Research' Boas explains that the objective of anthropology is "to understand the steps by which man has come to be what he is, biologically, psychologically and culturally. Thus, it appears at once that our material must necessarily be historical material, historical in the widest sense of the term. It must include the history of the development of the bodily form of man, his physiological functions, mind and culture. We need a knowledge of the chronological succession of forms and an insight into the conditions under which changes occur. Without such data progress seems impossible and the fundamental question arises as to how such data can be obtained" (Boas, 1932: 605). With this Boas points out two of his key concerns a) that there needs to be a specific focus on how human (within a culture) has come into being and b) there is need to device a method of collection of this information.

In his quest of exploring cultural history, Boas said that "the material for the reconstruction of culture is …. fragmentary because the largest and most important aspects of culture leave no trace in the soil; language, social organisation, religion- in short, everything that is not material-vanishes with the life of each generation. Historical information is available only for the most recent phases of cultural life and is confined to those peoples who had the art of writing and whose records we can read. Even this information is insufficient because many aspects of culture find no expression in literature" (Boas, 1932: 608). In addition to this, he feared that the exposure to colonising forces was drastically affecting indigenous people. He thus believed that it was of utmost importance to gather all possible information about cultures that might become extinct due to assimilation or acculturation. He emphasised on the documentation of the nuances of a culture, so that even when the culture's customs, beliefs and rituals were no longer being practiced they would still be preserved through time, in the anthropological archives, for future reference.

In order to understand the concept of historical particularism better let us first learn a little about the history of the discipline of Anthropology and the context in which historical particularism developed.

4.1 HISTORICAL TRAJECTORY OF THOUGHT

Anthropology achieved disciplinary identity around 1860-90. The 'evolutionists',who were the classical thinkers among anthropologists, were indoctrinated by the Enlightenment's conception of a science of universal history. Using the comparative method, they attempted to sketch in the details of the evolutionary sequences of society and culture. Historical particularism developed as a critique to the theory of uni-linear evolution.

4.1.1 Classical Evolutionary Theory

Evolutionists endeavoured to provide the first systematic methods of explaining human societies. Europe had conducted explorations all around the world and were conquering and colonising different reaches of the world. These expeditions lead to exposure to different societies and cultures. As information on different types of societies started pouring in, scholars tried to assimilate this information and classify them for some kind of an understanding of the variations that they saw. The scholars were influenced by the academic thinking of the time which favoured evolution as a concept as well as the comparative method of science.They posited their evolutionary theory based on the concept of 'psychic unity of mind', according to which the human mind shares similar characteristics all over the world, thus all societies go through an identical process of development. It was postulated that the differences in the societies can be explained by assuming that spatially dispersed contemporary societies are at different stages of cultural evolution. The comparative method was utilised to compare cultural traits of contemporary societies which implied that the relative progress of individual societies could be assessed in comparison with other societies in order to determine the level of sociocultural advancement that had been attained. To construct this scale the evolutionists (primarily European males) assumed that the western societies, which were dominant because of their military and economic power against technologically simple societies, were at the peak of development.

4.1.2 Critique of the Evolutionary School and its Comparative Method

The term 'primitive' in the evolutionary trajectory sealed the outlook with which the western society judged the 'other' cultures.The unilinear evolutionary schema was not only based on technological advancement, but carried with itself the additional burden of a racist undertone by the very tacit understanding of what was considered as 'civilized'. As Stocking points out, the 'civilized' western society was characterised by its social behaviour/ culture which was "associated with the progressive accumulation of the characteristic manifestations of human creativity: art, science, knowledge, refinement" (Stocking, 1966:870). These encompassed every facet of life including the basics of how to sit, talk, eat, dress, carry yourself, to what art was considered fashionable to the politics of knowledge creation, "those things that freed man from control by nature, by environment, by reflex, by instinct, by habit" (Stocking, 1966:870). Thus, the societies that were seen as closer to nature and geared towards what was naturally instinctive were looked down upon, characterised as backwards, associated with a lower evolutionary status and frequently argued in racial terms (Stocking, 1966). Boas was among the first anthropologists to speak out against this discriminatory framework. According to Boas, societies cannot be categorised as 'savage' or 'civilized'. This approach follows a kind of belittling.

Franz Boas began his work in Anthropology with the Kwakiutl Indians of Northern Vancouver and British Columbia in Canada. In studying this indigenous group, Boas was convinced that all people have equally developed cultures. He writes, "The more I see their customs, the more I realise that we have no right to look down on them. Where amongst our people would you find such true hospitality? ….. We "highly educated people" are much worse, relatively speaking". [This is a quote from Boas's Baffinland diaries (Diah et al, 2014:159)]. Boas's contribution

was noteworthy as he logically criticised the ethnocentrism (belief that one's own culture is more valuable or better than another).

Boas maintained that the sweeping generalisations of the unilineal social evolutionists were hypothetical and not scientifically valid. He discredited the comparative method utilised by the unilineal evolutionary schemes and argued that cultures cannot be compared or be subjected to generalities because each culture experienced a different and unique history, even if it led to a similar cultural product. He said that before extended comparisons are made, the comparability of the material must be proved.

In his paper "The Limitations of the Comparative Method in Anthropology" (1896), Boas argued against the indiscriminate comparison of cultures simply because they have similarities. He gave examples to clarify that cultures may have similar traits for a variety of reasons, including diffusion and trade. He further pointed out that corresponding environments or historical accident may also produce similar cultural traits independent of any universal evolutionary process. Thus, he said that the existence of such traits could not be used as evidence for universal stages of cultural evolution (MacGee and Warms, 2003).

The evolutionists compared contemporary societies (which were geographically isolated from each other), with historical data, archaeological finds, cultural remnants/ survivals (cultural traits that were dying out) etc. Boas pointed out the incomparability of such material. He especially critiques the use of such data in the evolutionary comparative scheme as used by the classical evolutionists, mentioning that "historic and prehistoric data give us little or no information on the biological development of the human mind" (Boas, 1932: 608).While evolutionists spoke of the 'psychic unity of human kind' in order to explain the unilinear evolution, in the presentation of their schema they put the so called lesser developed cultures into the status of 'organic mental inferiority' or mentally less evolved than the more advanced cultures, by default. This was done with the help of existing prehistoric and historical artefacts and comparing them with present day existing societies which were still either using these artefacts or following the customs. Boas argued that cultures cannot be classified as biologically or mentally inferior based on incompetent comparisons used to validate the already existing racist notions of the evolutionists. He says that "we find in modern times isolated tribes living in a way that may very well be paralleled with early conditions. A comparison of the psychic life of these groups does not justify the belief that their industrial backwardness is due to a difference in the types of organism, for we find numbers of closely related races on the most diverse levels of cultural status" (Boas, 1932: 608). Boas points out that the present times have all kinds of societies, some of these are industrially backwards, however it does not point towards any kind of biological or psychic inferiority. Further, one finds racial groups which are biologically closely associated to have branched out into diverse culture. With this, Boas critiques the use of un-contextual archaeological and historical data in a comparative framework.

Boas combated racism the majority of his life. He expressed in his ideals in his Baffin Island letter-diary. He spoke out against World War I, and the resulting xenophobia and jingoism the war had triggered in America. A staunch champion of the rights of immigrants and African Americans, he fought against the poll tax, racial discrimination, the intimidation of teachers in colleges and high schools, and the rise of Nazism in Europe. Boas was deeply involved in the early years of

the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He contributed the lead article for the second issue of that organisation's journal, 'The Crisis,' and spoke out on the subject of race and racism repeatedly throughout.

Thus, evolutionists were critiqued on their comparative method based on a) its ethnocentric approach and b) the incomparability of the cultural material used. However, these critiques brought to the forefront certain other exploratory aspects namely that each culture is a product of a unique history. Also, that these cultural trajectories were not governed by any universal evolutionary pattern, but were responses to various stimuli, including adjustment to environment, sudden innovation, diffusion and so on. In the next section we will explore how these realisations influenced the discipline of anthropology.

Check Your Progress 1

1) Why did Franz Boas consider the documenting of culture as urgent and imperative?

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2) Discuss how the Cultural Historical Approach developed as a critique of the evolutionary theory?

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4.2 FRANZ BOAS'S INFLUENCE ON ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Boas suggests an alternative to the generalisations of the comparative method. Rather than following a 'nomothetic' (generalised) approach, Boas encouraged the anthropologists to follow an 'idiographic' (dealing with particular/ specific cases) approach (Langness 1974; 57). In his paper 'The Limitations of the Comparative Method in Anthropology', Boas advocates that anthropologists need to conduct a detailed study of customs in relation to the relevance of these customs to the total culture of the tribe practicing them. These customs, he says, also need to be studied and investigated in connection with an understanding of their geographical distribution among neighbouring tribes. This kind of a holistic approach towards investigating culture and customs as well as their contiguousness, could help determine with considerable accuracy the historical causes that led to the formation of the customs in question and to the psychological processes that were at work in their development. The results of inquiries

conducted by this method, he said may be three-fold. "They may reveal the environmental conditions which have created or modified cultural elements; they may clear up psychological factors which are at work in shaping the culture; or they may bring before our eyes the effects that historical connections have had upon the growth of the culture" (Boas, 1896:905). Highlighting certain aspects of this dialogue can help us understand some key concepts that Boas proposed:

a) 'total culture of the tribe' and 'psychological processes' which are reflective of cultural particularism.

b) 'connection with other tribes' bringing in the idea of diffusion and

c) "historical causes that led to the formation" reflecting on historical particularism.

Let us discuss these concepts in greater details:

4.2.1 Historical Particularism

Boas distantly differentiated his historic method from the comparative method where he says that one is careful and slow detailed study of local phenomena while the other was indiscriminate use of similarities of culture for proving historical connection. He says that there is need for through and comprehensive examination of the 'continuity of distribution'of customs and traits that are common to neighbouring and contiguous communities and tribes. This kind of an examination would help in proving historical connection between commonality of practices. However, he cautioned against the assumption of lost connecting links and advised that it must be applied most sparingly so as to avoid conjectures. Boas believed that to explain cultural customs, one must examine them from three fundamental perspectives: the environmental conditions under which they developed, psychological factors, and historical connections. He points out that "the apparent stability of primitive types of culture is due to our lack of historical perspective. They change much more slowly than our modern civilization, but wherever archaeological evidence is available we do find changes in time and space. A careful investigation shows that those features that are assumed as almost absolutely stable are constantly undergoing changes. Some details may remain for a long time, but the general complex of culture cannot be assumed to retain its character for a very long span of time" (Boas 1932: 609).The function of the historical method of anthropology is thus seen to lie in its ability to discover the processes which in definite cases led to the development of certain customs. Boas insisted that the focus should be on 'discovering the inner dynamic of change' and why a culture took a particular direction. Thus, historical particularism of culture focuses on the explanation of not only what happened and where but also why and how of different aspects of a specific society.

4.2.2 Diffusion

Boas includes the idea of diffusion in his historical method. We have seen in the previous sections that Boas speaks about the interconnections between cultural groups in the development of cultural history.

While Boas does talk about environmental influence on the historical development of a culture, he believes that this developmental history is difficult to trace due to the influence of diffusion. Boas points out that "inter marriages, war, slavery,

trade, have been so many sources of constant introduction of foreign cultural elements, so that an assimilation of culture must have taken place over continuous areas" (Boas 1896: 905). Boas tried to bring to the forefront the fact that while there might be similarities in the cultural development of neighbouring tribes due to environmental similarities there might also be other influencing social factors in the history of these tribes which might have influenced them differently as well as in isolation from each other. He thus, believed that it is equally important to trace the development of separate cultural traits in order to understand the differential effects of diffusion on neighbouring tribes as well as their unique cultural history.

Boas visualises an understanding of diffusion as an integral part of historical particularism in the understanding of a culture, however he does admit to the difficulties it might pose. He explains that in studying the distribution of cultural traits in a geographical area with similar traits and customs, it might not necessarily be easy to determine the direction of diffusion, especially because one has to examine both diffusion as well as the composite of the development of customs and traits within a particular culture (in a chronological order). Simultaneously he cautions that one cannot take for granted that an area rich in a particular cultural trait signifies that it is the place of origin of that cultural trait. He points out that it is possible that complex customs and traits might have emerged from one place and were simply adopted by neighbouring communities, or that a simple trait might have been adopted by neighbouring communities and developed into more complex forms over time. However, Boas reiterates that "the study of geographical distribution of cultural phenomena offers a means of determining their diffusion" (Boas 1932: 608). He, insisted that though difficult to construct, the historical particularities of cultural customs and traits will help understand the 'logic' of their development within a culture, i.e., the factors that influenced the direction of development.Thus, while Boas discusses a need to understand diffusion, his historical particularistic approach concentrated on its contribution to the understanding of a particular culture. This perspective of understanding a culture in itself was developed further by Boas's students. Boas thus, laid the groundwork for the concept of cultural relativism.

4.2.3 Cultural Relativism

The concept of cultural relativism was important in countering the ethnocentrism of the evolutionist school. Cultural relativism explained that each culture is said to constitute a total social world that reproduces itself through enculturation (the process by which values, emotional dispositions, and embodied behaviours are transmitted from one generation to the next). These values and practices are usually perceived by members of a society as uniquely satisfying and superior to all others, hence one can assume a universality of ethnocentrism. Cultural relativism creates an understanding that there are many cultures in the world and that each culture has its own values, beliefs, and practices that have been developed over time in a particular context, and that none of the cultures are necessarily wrong or right. Each culture must be seen as '*sui generis*', offering a satisfying way of life, however repugnant or outlandish particular aspects of it may seem to outsiders.

Boas said that Culture is integrated, and with this he laid the foundation stone of cultural relativism. In his paper 'The Occurrence of Similar Inventions in Areas Widely Apart' (in context of display of ethnographic data at the national museum)

Boas writes, that ethnographic collections should be "arranged according to tribes, in order to teach the peculiar style of each group. The art and characteristic style of a people can be understood only by studying its productions as a whole" (Boas1887: 486). Franz Boas argued that detailed studies of particular societies had to consider the entire range of cultural behaviour, and thus the concepts of anthropological holism and cultural particularism became twin tenets of American anthropology (Moore 2009). 'Holism' for Boas was that a culture should be treated as a unified system; it referred to the importance of understanding a particular phase or pattern in relation to its entire relevant cultural background. Further, Boas described the need to study psychological processes to understand how a society developed, in this it is important to note that he described psychology as 'the native point of view', explaining that understandings are relative to enculturation thus ethnographer must interpret a culture on the basis of its own 'internal web of logic' (Brown 2008).

Boas in his conceptualisation of historical particularism proposed a method of exploring "how the culture of each group of human came to be what it is". In this he emphasised that one needs to understand the internal logic of the people being explored, highlighting that culture as an integrated whole. Environment, diffusion, acculturation etc. were seen as exposures that lead to cultural change, however it was maintained that the internal dynamics of the culture is the key to the direction that development takes. Thus, arose the significance of cultural relativism that, cultural material has to be understood within its cultural context.

The recognition of the need to collect cultural material in a cultural context propelled Boas to promote the tradition of fieldwork within anthropology. Just like Historical particularism was critique to the comparative method so was its procedure of data collection.

Check Your Progress 2

3) Define Historical Particularism.

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4) Discuss cultural relativism.

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4.3 FRANZ BOAS'S INFLUENCE ON ANTHROPOLOGICAL FIELDWORK

We have already discussed in the introductory section that according to Boas one of the key concerns of anthropological research was the collection of data. Boasian anthropology was, among other things, a reaction to the classical evolutionary school of thought, and their competitive method. Boas felt that evolutionists made premature generalisations based on poor and inadequate information. This information was obtained, not from a qualified researcher, but rather from individuals "who often had only a biased, superficial understanding of the people they were observing" and provided more conjecture than fact (Barnouw 1971:39).

In order to overcome these biases Boas used a four-field approach in his fieldwork (cultural, archaeology, physical/biological, and linguistics) to ascertain the collection of proper information in the proper context. Boas believed that anthropologists needed to ground their arguments with empirical evidence. He highlighted the importance of comprehensive and detailed fieldwork and conducted several fieldtrips over his lifetime. Boas insisted that meticulous collection of ethnographic data by a properly trained researcher is paramount to understanding the material in its correct and intended format. During his initial commentary on field work it looked like Boas believed that the individual has very little influence on the whole. Here he emphasised that the researcher needed to collect information through observations of the perspective of those being studied, however he changed this view in his later discourses claiming that whether or not the person was "typical" to his/her society, the society or culture therein has boundaries set up to keep individuals within the norms of what is and what is not acceptable to them. Boas used this as a crutch supporting his view on the collection of data from informants. He felt that he could obtain all the knowledge needed to understand a culture from a few key people. (Goldschmidt 1959). Boas trained a number of students in his methodological perspective creating an academic environment which believed in the importance of intensive fieldwork. Some of Boas's influential students include Alfred L. Kroeber, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Robert Lowie, Paul Radin and Edward Sapir and Boas's legacy is evident in the myriad of their works and theorisations.

Check Your Progress 3

5) Did Franz Boas have an impact on anthropological fieldwork?

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6) Discuss how Franz Boas influenced the conduct of anthropological fieldwork.

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4.4 A CRITIQUE OF FRANZ BOAS'S ANTHROPOLOGICAL THOUGHT

Boas did not technically leave behind a 'school of thought'. Boas's students argued that this was not the case; he recognised the need for new theoretical perspectives but believed that more general theories of human behaviour would become obvious once enough data had been collected. Boas's refusal to theorise about anthropological laws, was seen as a detriment to the field, to the extent that he was perceived as anti-theoretical, by some of his contemporaries. Boas was also criticised on his duration of fieldwork cause though he conducted several fieldtrips in his life, he did not stay in the field for long periods of time.

Further, Boas critiqued standardised anthropological data of not examining the individual of society as an entity of concern. He felt that within the individual lies the true interpretation of human behaviour. Boas opined that the anthropological focus remains on customary behaviour, and in that it neglects or pays little attention to the understanding of the relation between individual and his culture. It misses out on perceiving both how individual reacts to culture and how individual changes culture. Boas in turn was critiqued by his student Alfred Kroeber for this line of thought and his focus on individuals during research. Kroeber did not believe in this idea as he considered culture was all pervasive.

Kroeber also differed from Boas'sthought that anthropology was ultimately a discipline devoted to the study of humankind's origins. Inspite of these differences Kroeber and his other students continued to carry forward and developed Boas's concepts of historical particularism and cultural relativism, as well as contributed significantly to anthropological theory. Inspite of critique Boas left behind an academic tradition of fieldwork and a significant contribution to anthropological thought.

Check Your Progress 4

7) Examine the critiques of Franz Boas anthropological thoughts.

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4.5 SUMMARY

Historical particularism marks a significant point in the history of anthropology, as it changes the direction of the discipline from its racial past, and establishes the recognition that all cultures are equally developed.This concept agrees with the need to study social development however it discredits the comparative method used by the evolutionists as ethnocentric, hypothetical and non-scientific (in terms of comparability of material). Historical particularism goes hand in hand with the concepts of diffusion and cultural relativism aspiring for a holistic approach towards understanding culture. It speaks of a shift from nomothetic approach (generalised and broad based), to an 'idiographic' (dealing with particular/ specific

cases) approach, especially cause it recognises a dearth of (holistic) cultural data as well as the need to document vanishing cultures.

Boas's inclusion of the concepts of environment and individual psychology in the cultural historical approach paved the way for the development of two approaches: (a) the cultural ecological and (b) culture and personality in anthropology. American anthropology therefore developed diverse branches, moving away from the closed system approach of the British school. Later developments include a full fledged psychological anthropology, historical anthropology and medical anthropology among others.

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4.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) Refer to section 4.1
2) Refer to section 4.1
3) Refer to section 4.2.1
4) Refer to section 4.2.3
5) Refer to section 4.3
6) Refer to section 4.3
7) Refer to section 4.4

UNIT 4 APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT*

Contents

4.0 Introduction
4.1 Historical underpinnings of Development
4.2 Anthropological engagement in Development
4.3 Sustainable Development Goals
4.4 Summary
4.5 References
4.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

Learning Outcomes

After reading this unit the students will learn to:

- Define the conceptual progression in the idea of development;
- Explain anthropological engagement with developments;
- Discuss the continuity between Development Anthropology and Anthropology of Development; and
- Construct a discourse on sustainable development goals.

4.0 INTRODUCTION

"Relations between anthropologists and the world of development ideas and practices date from the early days of the discipline during the colonial period and have continued, in various forms, up to the present. Such relationships have encompassed the spheres of research and action, from positions of sympathetic involvement as well as the stances of disengaged critique or even outright hostility. Whatever point of view anthropologists may take about development, the concept of development, itself a diverse and highly contested term, remains one of the central organising and defining systems of our age and will therefore continue to demand anthropological attention" (Lewis, 2005: 2). Keeping this in perspective one has to realise that development is a concept that is a key driving force in society today however, it needs to be continuously debated and contested in terms of contextual realities in order to optimise its utility.These contestations give rise to two specific areas of focus within anthropology one that takes a critical outlook towards the very idea of development and constantly challenges the concept and parameter of understanding development and the gaps therein. This critical analysis of development in a multidisciplinary perspective to include

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the entire policy chain is studied under anthropology of development. The second area of focus is that of development anthropology which is grounded in applied anthropology. According to American Anthropological Association (as defined in Training Manual in Development Anthropology): Development anthropology is scientific research with significant applications within the development project cycle. Its objective is to enhance benefits and mitigate negative consequences for the human communities involved in and affected by development efforts. Development anthropologists are involved in development projects in a variety of ways, the specific roles being determined in part by the particular stage in the life cycle of the project (Partridge 1984:1). The anthropologists in this case have a direct relationship with the implementational aspects of a development programme, but it restricts the researchers' scope as the programme is controlled through various other parameters which include an externality of development aid primarily consisting of transfer of resources (capital and technical knowledge), but also norms or what Foucault (1994:237)refers to as 'conduct of conduct'. Thus, at different stages of the programme cycle the development programme itself is controlled or influenced by the agency providing aid/support and their code of how things should be managed and thus anthropologists often find themselves on a balance which is tilted against them due to the unequvocality based on power politics. A part solution to this issue can be found in the area of anthropology of development which talks about ethnographic research of global policies involving the challenge of focusing on the entire policy chain - from the production of development policy models in the context of the development agencies, to the different translation points (for example, state ministries in the recipient countries and large international NGOs) and local intervention points. Here, development policy emerges as one of the contemporary forms of producing the world (knowledge production at global and transnational level).

One has to recognise at this point that both anthropology of development and development anthropology are areas of anthropology which complement each other and form a continuity. It is through critical deliberations on development that one can contribute to effectiveness of the concept while implementation of development agenda in ethnographic settings have themselves been responsible for critical reflections and critiquing of the development agenda. Some argue that it is imperative for anthropologists to be involved in development discourse to work with local people to help them assess their needs and ideas for change or to even advocate for localised, community-specific initiatives. Some anthropologists suggest that we should not be involved with international development agencies, but only with indigenous rights movements. Still others suggest that anthropologists study both small and large development institutions in order to better understand the development system. Anthropological data can help development projects maximise social and economic benefits by ensuring projects are a cultural fit,

respond to local needs, involve the appropriate local social actors and organisations in the project, and are flexible (Gezen and Kottak, 2014).

After looking at this generic space of anthropological engagement with development let us look at how the concept of development gained popularity and built anthropological engagement with development overtime.

4.1 HISTORICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF DEVELOPMENT

"'Development' in its modern sense first came to official prominence when it was used by United States' President Truman in 1949 as part of the rationale for post-War reconstruction in 'underdeveloped' areas of the world, based on provision of international financial assistance and modern technology transfer. Development has subsequently been strongly associated primarily with economic growth" (Lewis, 2005:2).

Excerpt from Inaugural address as president of the United States Harry Truman on January 20, 1949 "More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate, they are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. For the first time in history humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people. . . . I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. . . . What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing. . . . Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge"[†].

The idea of development which was being proposed was well reflected in United Nations, Department of Social and Economic Affairs commentary at that point of time, which documents that "There is a sense in which rapid economic progress is impossible without painful adjustments. Ancient philosophies have to be scrapped; old social institutions have to disintegrate; bonds of caste, creed and race have to burst; and large numbers of persons who cannot keep up with progress have to have their expectations of a comfortable life frustrated. Very few communities are willing to pay the full price of economic progress". (United Nations, Department of Social and Economic Affairs, 1951: 15).

It must already be evident to you from these two dialogues (ie. President Truman's call for reaching out to the underdeveloped countries and United

[†]https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/truman.asp (visited on 24.6.2020 at 10.53)

Nations, Department of Social and Economic Affairs' understanding of need for sacrifice for the sake of economic development) that the post second world war victors placed themselves in an ethnocentric position of superiority where they felt the need to help the countries which they believed were very much in need of their assistance. This put various countries in a scheme of developmental stages through the popular demarcation of 'First World' (Western capitalist), 'Second World' (Soviet, Eastern Bloc and other socialist areas) and 'Third World' (the rest). This is pointed out by Lewis in his paper were he writes that "As an adjective, 'development' implies a standard against which different rates of progress may be compared, and it therefore takes on a subjective, judgmental element in which societies or communities are sometimes compared and then positioned at different 'stages' of an evolutionary development schema. Indeed, development is often understood in Darwinian terms as a biological metaphor for organic growth and evolution, while in a Durkheimian sense it can be associated with ideas about the increasing social, economic and political complexity in transitions from 'traditional' to 'modern' societies"(Lewis 2005:3).

The post second world war conception of development coincided with US economist W.W. Rostow Modernisation theory. This proposed that economic growth would 'trickle down' to the poor, while the transfer of new technology would bring material benefits. He argued that there were a series of stages of development through which traditional, low-income societies moved, ultimately reaching a point of 'take off', based on financial investment, improved governance and modern technologies, which would eventually set them on a course of self-sustaining growth. Part of this idea has continued to occupy the central theme of development, however the theory in itself was recognised as being too unilinear, as other geo-political aspects came to be recognised as time progressed, it located development within the reform of international trade regulations and the free movement of capital between wealthy developed 'North' and a poor, less developed 'South' had its origins in the UN sponsored Brandt Commission report of 1980. A stronger emphasis on historical and political factors was found in the 'dependency' school of development theorists, which brought together radical scholars. It rejected the modernisation paradigm and focused instead on the unequal relationship between North and South in relation to terms of trade, arguing that an active process of 'underdevelopment' had taken place as peripheral economies were integrated into the capitalist system on unequal terms, primarily as providers of cheap raw materials for export to rich industrialised countries. The dependency theory was also critiqued for its over simplification. This shifted the approach of development to the world system perspective. The world systems theory, developed by sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein, is an approach to world history and social change that suggests there is a world economic system in which some countries benefit while others are exploited, however this approach opened up room for possibility of shift/change in economic power making the approach more

dynamic in nature. While there were deliberations on development based on economic relations between the world economic systems, there was also realisation for inclusion of social dimension within development. An international committee recommended the following items to constitute the indicators of development: health, including demographic conditions; food and nutrition; education, including literacy and skills; condition of work; employment situation; aggregate consumption and savings; transportation; housing, including household facilities; clothing; recreation and entertainment; social security; and human freedoms (UNRISD, 1972). Thus, while the significance of economic and technological advancement remained integral parameters of development, there began a recognition for the significance of the social and subsequently cultural dimensions as well, bringing to the forefront the necessity of anthropological engagement in development.

Check Your Progress

1) What is the relationship between development anthropology and anthropology of development?

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2) How are anthropologists' engaged with development?

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3) How was development first conceived/constructed in its modern sense?

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4.2 ANTHROPOLOGICAL ENGAGEMENT IN DEVELOPMENT

Anthropologists have engaged with the applied aspects of social change since pre-colonial times, where they were seen as representatives of the colonisers, helping in the colonising process and came with the related privileges. However, there were also exceptions to this rule with anthropologists like Boas combating racism for the major part of his life. He spoke out against World War I, and the resulting xenophobia and jingoism the war had triggered in America, and staunchly championed for the rights of immigrants and African Americans. Similarly, anthropologists had different positions with respect to social change and development. Bronislaw Malinowski in his book *The Dynamics of Culture Change: An Inquiry into Race Relations in Africa*, 1976 points out that "Unfortunately, there is still a strong but erroneous opinion in some circles that practical anthropology is fundamentally different from theoretical or academic anthropology. The truth is that science begins with application. What is application in science and when does "theory" become practical? When it first allows us a definite grip on empirical reality". Similar thoughts are echoed by Margaret Mead who was a founder member of the Society for Applied Anthropology and spent much of her career addressing important domestic issues in America. During World War II, Mead supported the war effort by working on several applied projects, including national character studies and, later, the study of culture at a distance. However, Mead also believed that "anthropology, as the science of man, has a responsibility which ….we cannot evade" (1964: 12). In her book *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (1955), Mead asked how technical change could be introduced "with such regard for the culture pattern that human values are preserved" (1955: v). To think about such things she said was necessary "to protect the mental health of a world population in transition" (1955: v).This builds into the overall idea of development as Lewis points out that "'development' has also come to be associated with 'planned social change' and the idea of an external intervention by one group in the affairs of another. Often this is in the form of a project, as part of conscious efforts by outsiders to intervene in a less developed community or country in order to produce positive change" (Lewis, 2005:3).While on one hand, development is reflected upon as positive change according to the "radical critiques, development is viewed in terms of an organised system of power and practice which has formed part of the colonial and neo-colonial domination of poorer countries by the West" (Lewis, 2005:3).

Anthropological engagement with development puts forth similar conundrum where Grillo points out that "The relationship between anthropology and development has long been one fraught with difficulty, ever since Bronislaw Malinowski advocated a role for anthropologists as policy advisers to African colonial administrators and Evans-Pritchard urged them instead to do precisely the opposite and distance themselves from the tainted worlds of

policy and 'applied' involvement" (Grillo 2002,in Lewis, 2005:1). For Evans-Pritchard, there was nothing wrong per se with the application of anthropological knowledge to practical affairs; but if it were so applied, the anthropologist had to realise that he was "no longer acting within the anthropological field but in the non-scientific field of administration" (Evans-Pritchard 1946:93 in Escobar, 1991). While some anthropologists took to opposed stances yet others like Lucy Mairpoint towards larger positional dilemmas, she says that "We made ourselves the defenders of African cultures against its critics, and against policies aimed at radical change……we used to say that people should learn from the industrial revolution in Europe and so spare Africa its worst horrors. I am not sure what we meant by this……..this is not how people study social change today……..I think it is true that we look differently at the changes taking place in independent Africa, and this fact is not unconnected with the impatience of Africa's new leaders for ever more rapid change…….are we such timeservers that we change views when power changes hands"(Mair. 1965).

Anthropologists over time have taken different stands in their engagement with change and development. However, there active engagement with the discourse of development started when the apparent failure of economically oriented approaches to development prompted a re-evaluation of development's "social" aspects and goals like health housing education etc.,from early 1970s onwards. There was also subsequent recognition of cultural aspects which until the 1970s was considered purely a residual category, since "traditional" societies were thought to be in the process of becoming "modern". However cultural resistance became inherently problematic in development. And there was growing recognition of the need to take cultural aspects into consideration in order to understand the impact of development projects on local communities and the importance of local knowledge systems for programs. The emphasis on the social and cultural aspects in development opened up unprecedented opportunities for anthropologists. Development experts and agencies, having become discontent with the poor results of technology and capital intensive top- down interventions, developed a new sensitivity toward the social and cultural factors in their programs; however, the development enterprise did not change. The new policies still sought modernisation, anchored their faith on material progress through technology and the exploitation of nature.

Robins (1987:273) writing about USAID in 1970s points out that "earlier assessments of development having revealed that measures of growth in terms of GNP (Gross National Product) and per capita income were illusory for what they disguised about what was happening to the poor, AID took the bold step of declaring its intention to aim assistance more explicitly at disadvantaged populations, the weakest segments of less developed societies". This shift in focus social aspects of inequality, led to the introduction of development projects centered on the poor, where the

program focus was “concerned with the modernisation and monetisation of rural society, and with its transition from traditional isolation to integration with the national economy” (World Bank, 1974). "Poverty-oriented" programs, especially in the areas of rural development, urban poor, health, nutrition, and family planning, thus became the order of the day.

Anthropologists were also incorporated into the development initiatives with the popularisation of the participatory paradigms in development practices, which drew extensively on/from anthropological methodology. Thus, it was proposed that developmental projects had to be socially relevant, culturally appropriate, and should involve their direct beneficiaries in a significant fashion. "Development" was seen to represent an increase in the capacities of a society to organise for its own objectives and carry out its programmes more effectively. (Belshaw, 1974). Further, the ‘New Directions’ mandate, U.S. AID, around the latter half of 1970s, began to require a "social soundness analysis" (SSA), an assessment of the feasibility, compatibility, and potential impact of a project in terms of the socio-cultural environment in which it was to be carried out. “The social soundness analysis cites the relevance of local values, beliefs, and social structures to the technological package under consideration; promotes cultural integration by fitting innovations into existing social patterns; solicits the impressions villagers and others have of their own circumstances; and evaluates the impact of programs upon people and the way they live" (Robins 1986:19). The social soundness analysis and "knowledge, attitude, and practices" (KAP) studies opened the doors of U.S. AID to anthropologists. While the engagement of anthropologists continued, Robins in his 1987 paper admits that “The introduction of the social soundness component into the AID program was an important and necessary step in the direction of promoting development at the grass roots level. Yet our self-perceived need still to direct programs ourselves has made us reluctant to hand over the reins of project management to host country personnel. Our system of technical accountability encourages us to do more and teach less in our effort to achieve the goals which have been set before us. As a result we are not following a program which is sound; we are not decreasing the dependency upon us of those very nations we are assisting” (1987:277).

The initial rapport between anthropologists and developers started to wane in the 1980s, due to the return to orthodoxy in development thinking with Ronald Reagan, the president of America. This was a period of "rising discontent" (1980-85), which was succeeded by a "quest for alternatives" to (1985-90) during the late 1980s, characterised by a more realistic and pragmatic mood among both anthropologists and developers. There was a shift from project-based approach focusing on capital transfers to global structural policy.

“Frustration with the scale of global poverty, exploitation and inequality led some academics and activists to usher in an era of ‘post-development’ thinking in the 1990s, which advocated a radical rethinking of the

assumptions and the goals of development, characterised in this critique as a Western cultural mind-set which imposed homogenising materialist values, idealised rational-scientific power and created unprecedented levels of environmental destruction" (Lewis, 2005:4). This led to some scholars advocating a completely hostile stance and resistance to the onslaught of development. The discussion shifted to "development alternatives" and subsequently to "alternatives to development", human rights and sustainable development. After 1990s the development-policy approaches expanded, and the keywords associated with this expansion included sectoral approaches, budgetary aid, structural policy, good governance, new public management**,** to combat some of the discontentment felt towards the implementation of development.

The beginning of the 21st century was marked by a 15 year plan of Millennium Development Goals (2000-2015), etc. The MDGs were largely determined by OECD countries (**Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development)** and international donor agencies, and was governed by aid flow. Lewis (2005: 2) writes that "The 'development industry' remains a powerful and complex constellation of public and private agencies channelling large amounts of international development assistance, including inter-governmental organisations of the United Nations, multilateral and bilateral donors such as the World Bank or the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and a vast array of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) ranging from small specialised, grassroots concerns to large transnational organisations such as Oxfam or the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC)".

The Eight Millennium Development Goals were:

1) to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger;
2) to achieve universal primary education;
3) to promote gender equality and empower women;
4) to reduce child mortality;
5) to improve maternal health;
6) to combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases;
7) to ensure environmental sustainability; and
8) to develop a global partnership for development.

Among other things, the recognition for partnerships, lead to the realisation of significance of Non-government organisations in community level participation and involvement in developmental programs. This again, resulted in the involvement of anthropologists with development because of their association with the civil society. The restructuring of developmental policies allowed for a greater flexibility for grass-root accommodation of developmental programs. The policy framework still remained top down in nature and the challenges of financial power politics remained, however

channels of communication from bottom up opened up with NGOs being able to represent themselves and what they believed to be their community's challenges, on common platforms and international forums. This brought forth greater representation and voices into the discourse of development which was a key in the formulation of Global Development Plan to be achieved by 2030 with the Sustainable Development Goals (SGDs).

4.3 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS (SGDs)

The term sustainable development appeared in the late 1970s and was definitely consolidated in 1987 by UN Brundtland Commission. This commission prepared the most broadly accepted definition of sustainable development: "Sustainable development is a transformation process in which the exploitation of resources, direction of investments, orientation of technological development and institutional change are reconciled and reinforces present and future potential, in order to attend to needs and future aspirations (...) it is that which attends to present needs without compromising the possibility of future generations attending their own needs." Due to the increase of world political interest in environmental questions and incitement of social environmental conflicts, there has been increased motivation for debate on the theme in the last few decades. As Sachs (2004) argues, it is in this context that the proposal of Sustainable Development appears as a desirable and possible alternative to promote social inclusion, economic well-being and preservation of natural resources (Soares and Quintella, 2008). Thus a concept which was already a part of the development discourse got re-emphasised in the Sustainable Development Goals.

On September 25-27, during the 70th session of the United Nations General Assembly, UN member states convened a special summit for the adoption of the post 2015 development agenda. This special summit concluded with the adoption of the declaration "Transforming Our World- the 2030 agenda for Sustainable Development" a universal call to action for the betterment of people, planet, prosperity, peace, and partnership which is unprecedented in both scope and ambition. To catalyse cooperative, transformative action at the international scale, the 2030 Agenda includes a set of 17 universally applicable, integrated objectives for sustainable development, which are accompanied by a total of 169 concrete targets and indicators. These objectives are officially referred to as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The SDGs have significantly expanded on the scale and content of the MDGs. The SDGs are focused on a global development with and-for sustainability, and demonstrate an understanding that the environment is not an add-on or in opposition to sustainable development, but rather the base that underpins all other goals**.** The following is an overview of the 17 SGDs:

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS
1 NO POVERTY
2 ZERO HUNGER
3 GOOD HEALTH AND WELL-BEING
4 QUALITY EDUCATION
5 GENDER EQUALITY
6 CLEAN WATER AND SANITATION
7 AFFORDABLE AND CLEAN ENERGY
8 DECENT WORK AND ECONOMIC GROWTH
9 INDUSTRY, INNOVATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE
10 REDUCED INEQUALITIES
11 SUSTAINABLE CITIES AND COMMUNITIES
12 RESPONSIBLE CONSUMPTION AND PRODUCTION
13 CLIMATE ACTION
14 LIFE BELOW WATER
15 LIFE ON LAND
16 PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS
17 PARTNERSHIPS FOR THE GOALS
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Source: https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/envision2030.html (website: www.un.org).

Let us explore some of the reasons why SGDs are more inclusive in nature than the MDGs.

1) Globally collaborative- SDGs where conceived through an inclusive participatory processes. A UN Open Working Group (OWG) made up of 70 countries sharing 30 seats was established in 2013 to draft the SDGs. It was tasked with incorporating a range of stakeholders into their negotiation process. As a result, developing countries, local and sub-national governments, and prominent actors from civil society and the private sector have been able to provide significant input into the content.

2) Universality- In sharp contrast to the MDGs, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are uniformly applicable to all countries of the world, removing the "developing" versus "developed" dichotomy that left the MDGs open to criticism. The issues in focus apply to rich and poor countries alike. Thus, the SDGs will apply universally to all UN member states.

3) Funding- The MDGs were largely envisioned to be funded by aid flows. The SDGs put sustainable, inclusive economic development at the core of the strategy, and address the ability of countries to address social challenges largely through improving their own revenue generating capabilities.

4) Decentralisation- Decentralised cooperation and vertically integrated action, which leverage and enable the capacities of local government actors, civil societies and private organisations. The local governments and actors can prioritise their focus on issues of concern however, there is a vertical integration as all issues have cross association and an underlying continuity as well as align to a vertical global agenda.

5) Data Revolution**:** The MDGs said nothing about monitoring, evaluation and accountability – the SDGs target by 2020 to "increase significantly the availability of high-quality, timely and reliable data disaggregated by income, gender, age, race, ethnicity, migratory status, disability, geographic location and other characteristics relevant in national contexts.[‡]"

6) Expansion of scope-"Focus Areas" that go beyond the symptoms of poverty, to issues of peace, stability, human rights and good governance, women's empowerment etc.

7) Re-evaluation of qualitative issues- Hunger and Poverty were seen as co-existing in MDG ie. Solving one was seen as a solution to the other. So much has been learned about nutrition since that time, and the SDGs treat the issue of poverty separately from Food and Nutrition Security. Similarly**,** MDGs focused on quantity (eg, high enrollment rates) of education. The SDGs speak of quality of education – of learning – and the role of education in achieving a more humane world: education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship, and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development.

The UN hopes the goals will form a framework of rules and ideals that can influence development plans and actions around the world.While a 'culture' has become an integral part of the SGD dialogues, 'culture' is difficult to reduce to a handful of indicators, which still remain an assessment tool for measurement of goals. Moreover, the world needs to be moulded towards a sustainability culture. Both these aspects are crucial areas of anthropological engagement. Anthropologists have a significant role to play in the directioning of the development discourse in terms of critiquing, dialogue on discrimination and social inclusion, human rights, social negotiations and synergies, policy and programme planning (through the entire policy chain), program implementation, creating monitoring evaluation and feedback loops so on and so forth. Anthropology itself being a composite discipline with a holistic perspective has the ability to contribute to a multidisciplinary cross-sectional approach looking at how various SDGs can complement and support eachother. Anthropology also has the methodological know how of bringing 'emic' perspectives into the discourses and can thus contribute towards mobilising people's participation and voices in deciding their own journey on Development.

Check Your Progress

4) Reflect on some reasons that led to active engagement of anthropologists in development in the 1970s?

[‡]https://advocacy.thp.org/2014/08/mdgs-to-sdgs/. Viewed on 28.6.2020. 11.39 pm

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5) Give at least two salient differences between SGDs and MGDs?

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6) What are the difficulties faced by anthropologists in the development sector?

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4.4 SUMMARY

We began this chapter with the realisation that anthropologists are engaged with development in different phases of policy and programme cycles from different positionalities which range from critical bystander, to active engagement, to activist stances. Applied anthropologists have played several different types of roles, including mediation between communities and outsiders, helping to influence public opinion through journalism or advocacy work, helping to provide assistance directly during a crisis, or working as consultants to development organisations (Lewis,2005). These positions are not static and often change as a result of the ethical dialogue that the anthropologist has with himself/herself. One of the dilemmas of development remains that “The other" is only recognised to the extent that it can be integrated into the 'own'.

Anthropologists find themselves uncomfortable in the movement back and forth between micro field studies and macro interpretations that are increasingly necessary. More than any other social scientist they are aware of the gap between general theory and broad interpretations on the one hand, and empirical, down to earth interpretations on the other (Belshaw, 1974). In their own studies, and in spite of themselves, development anthropologists impose upon local realities social and political analyses that have travelled well-known terrains. These types of analyses originate in theoretical traditions in both anthropology and development that are the product of accumulated scholarly and political action, not merely neutral frameworks through which "local knowledge" innocently shows itself (Escobar,1991).

The concept of development has travelled a long way from being a top-down monopoly of the developed countries to a more inclusive idea. However, development discourse is dominated by economists, and/or political scientists or geographers who do not generally perceive anthropology as an interesting dialogue partner. The development anthropologists have to often present and "market" themselves, consciously or unconsciously designing their accounts of past experiences to convince current and prospective practitioners of the utility and marketability of their anthropological knowledge to government and industry (Escobar,1991). However, anthropology's contribution to development can neither be neglected nor overlooked, and as anthropologists continue their negotiation with the development discourse avenues of engagement continue to widen.

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4.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) Refer to paragraph 3 of section 4.0
2) Refer to INTRODUCTION and section 4.1
3) Refer to section 4.1
4) Refer to paragraph 3, 4 and 5 of section 4.2
5) Refer to paragraph 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 of section 4.3
6) Development discourse is dominated by economists, and/or political scientists or geographers who do not generally perceive anthropology as an interesting dialogue partner. The development anthropologists have to often present and "market" themselves, consciously or unconsciously designing their accounts of past experiences "to convince current and prospective practitioners of the utility and marketability of their anthropological knowledge to government and industry (Escobar,1991).

UNIT 5 APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY AND MARKET*

Contents

5.0 Introduction

5.1 Anthropological Engagement with Market

5.2 Methodological Contribution of Anthropology in Understanding Markets

5.3 Ethical Discourse in Anthropology of Market

5.4 Summary

5.5 References

5.6 Answers to Check your Progress

Learning Outcomes

After reading this unit the students will learn to:

- Define different types of markets and their varied nuances;
- Describe the manner in which anthropologists approach the idea of markets;
- Identify how anthropological methodology has been utilised effectively to cross-pollinate the field of economics; and
- Explain the ethical discourse in using anthropology in mainstream economics.

5.0 INTRODUCTION

"Markets are networks of economic processes and transactions which may occur without specific locations or spatial boundaries for the transactional universe. Markets are also social institutions, often located in geographically distinct places, which encompass specific social, legal, and political processes that enable economic transactions, but also extend far beyond them"(Bestor, 2001:9227). A market is one of the many systems, institutions, procedures, social relations and infrastructures through which parties engage in exchange.

With this in mind, let us begin this lesson by visualising various scenarios of marketplaces that we might have experienced or have seen and heard about.

Think of a supermarket (Figure 5.2) which provides an array of products from fresh food, to groceries, toys, clothes, cosmetics, household utility items, electronic goods and so on. All these products are labelled with price clearly mentioned (usually along with a product description). In case there is

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a discount or a free item to be provided with the purchase it is pre-planned and mentioned from beforehand for the clarity and choice of the customers.

Figure 5.1:Tribal Market

Figure 5.2: Isle of a super Market

Figure 5.3: Street Vendor

Though there are often attendants to help you find your way through the supermarket as well as various items displayed on different isles, their key task is to usually help you in locating things and the relation is formal in nature. The items you purchase are charged for as advertised and you cannot bargain on their price and more often than not you end up buying more items than you require as you are spoilt for choices. Now think of a local neighbourhood mom and pop store. This store is usually manned by a few people. You do not necessarily have access to the thing that you need to buy. You ask for the list of items that you want and they are produced for your perusal. If you are looking for a particular brand of item and it is not available then an alternate may be provided. The shopkeeper is usually efficient at selling this item, he/she might use interpersonal information for example, if you are a young student looking for a pen, the shopkeeper might tell you how the product is very popular among people of your age, or how the product is sought after by the more popular/studious people in this area, how the product might enhance your image (brand, colour etc.), how the product might suit your particular requirement (leak proof, smooth writing), the shopkeeper might even allow you to try the product for the grip of the pen, smoothness of writing and so on. Your relationship with this shopkeeper is a quasi-informal one. The shopkeeper and you engage in a conversation. This conversation might proceed beyond the purchases to include the

weather, social happenings and injustices, politics, health, neighbourhood gossip, personal details etc. The shopkeeper usually remembers these details and can continue with the conversation during your next visit. You become a regular at this shop where you often engage with the shopkeeper in terms of relational categories like uncle/ aunty or *bhaiya*(elder brother). As, the shopkeeper usually maintains a cordial relation with his customers, it often gives rise to a congenial space for thought exchanges where customers themselves might engage in conversation with each other, making it a social space for engaging in discussions and promoting a comparatively leisurely pace of life. You feel looked after by the shopkeeper. The shopkeeper often remembers your regular purchases and might even produce them before you ask for them, remind you if you are forgetting something, or question you if you have decided to leave out something from your regular list. You buy the branded items at labelled price, however loose items which are not pre-packed can be bargained for. If you want a specific item you might request the shopkeeper to procure it for you and the shopkeeper might do so. You become a patron of the shop and your relationship with the shopkeeper is so strong that the shopkeeper might take an affront or portray displeasure or sorrow if you visit the competition.

Now, think of a weekly farmers/vegetable market or an apparel/common goods market like Palika bazaar or Sarojini Nagar market in Delhi. These markets are often visited in the hope of a good bargain. Negotiations are not only expected every day, but are enjoyed by both the parties (ie. the buyer and the seller) involved. Raised voices and walking away only to come back or to be brought back by the shopkeeper are common phenomena. Though negotiations might involve informal coaxing from both parties the interaction is simply for the purpose of the purchase. In a farmers/vegetable market one not only bargains for a lower price but also expects to procure certain side items for free. There might be similar negotiations with a roadside fruit/vegetable vendor. Contrast to this might be a wholesale market were costs might be cut down drastically based on the bulk of the order, however negotiation in this case is more formal and interpersonal.

Now a tribal market, usually isa vibrant and colourful place which brings together locally produced or procured items along with some items from neighbouring areas as well as the mainstream markets. It uses locally recognised measures for the items sold. These measures may or may not be formal in nature. If you look at Figure 5.1, you will find that vegetables have been arranged in small mounds, each mound is sold for an expected price determined by the seller. The price might be negotiable based on what the buyer has to offer and is at times based on barter of items.

In today's globalised world standardised products exist across marketplaces. Imagine a McDonald outlet in America, England, Thailand and India. the brand is such that it is easily recognisable in different geographies, and while

the food often adopts to the local interests, it also manages to maintain a distinct identity.

Many markets are permanent while some are spontaneous, some markets are periodic, held at regular or irregular intervals, along regional circuits with peddlers who visit specific sites on a fixed cycle. With the expansion of information technology, its accessibility and e-commerce, markets have now become virtual in nature. We can buy and sell goods sitting in our home with door to door facilities and courier. Internet-based stores and auction sites such as Amazon and eBay are examples of markets where transactions can take place entirely online and the parties involved never connect physically.

Each market regulates itself by its own rules, if you go into a supermarket and try to bargain on the price, or barter goods in lieu of your purchases you will be shown the door. Similarly if you expect labelled goods with product description and expiry date in a tribal market you will be left disappointed. Each market has its own structure and presentation, rules of operation, its expected socio-cultural behaviour. Further, each market is influenced by the local and global politics. These markets flourish in spite and in relation with each other; they co-exist, coincide, network, influence as well as compete with each other. They exist in continua between informal sectors of society and highly regulated paces, large-scale business to small-scale family firms, legal sections as well as illegal spaces (black market), rural markets and urban markets, physical spaces with physical commodities and virtual spaces that include intangible financial assets. "Many small-scale markets are socially embedded in communities, where producers and consumers deal face-to-face over the vegetables, chickens, or bolts of cloth that are the stuff of daily life, whether in a peasant community, an urban bazaar, or a farmer's market in a middle-class suburb. Local markets, as well as much more specialised ones such as urban wholesale markets of professional traders, are often organised around complex, multi-stranded relationships that intertwine gender, ethnicity, class, and kinship, as well as economic role. Other very different kinds of markets embody diffuse, impersonal (and perhaps anonymous) ties among trade partners, such as in 'spot markets' where economic actors interact only through a one-time transaction, as in many real estate markets, labour markets, and global commodity markets for things such as sugar, coffee, or rubber. Long-distance trade, both in exotic products and mundane commodities, may pass through highly specialised marketplaces that coordinate a regional or a global industry" (Bestor, 2001:9228).

A market is the process by which the tradable item like goods, services, information etc. are evaluated and priced to facilitate subsequent transfer of rights and ownership between trading entities. Exchanges may or may not include transaction of money. Markets can differ by products (goods, services) or factors (labour and capital) sold, product differentiation, place in which exchanges are carried, buyers targeted, duration, selling process,

geographic boundaries etc. Markets are influenced by a number of factors including demand and supply, the cost of production, technology and source of product, minimum wages, price ceilings, number of buyers and sellers in the market and competitive pricing, government regulations, taxes, fees and subsidies, income of the population, expectations, rules and customs, legality of exchange, intensity of speculation, size, concentration, exchange asymmetry, volatility and region's openness to foreign trade, and so on. "Whether informal or formal, the frameworks of regulation that encompass the smooth functioning of any market usually mix self-regulating mechanisms created by market participants themselves with those imposed by political or legal authorities. The social, institutional construction of trade and markets is evident in the widely varied price mechanisms, like bartering, bidding, haggling, setting posted prices, or negotiating contracts, as well as discounts, rebates, or kickback, that are established in various markets, reflecting and shaping very different balances of market power among buyers and sellers" (Bestor, 2001).Anthropologists engage in various permutation and combinations of understanding these social phenomena, market places, networks and relationships, structures and organisation, customs and norms etc. which is elucidated further in the next section.

5.1 ANTHROPOLOGICAL ENGAGEMENT WITH MARKET

Anthropological interest lies in both market and marketplaces. Plattner (1989) makes this useful distinction where he specifies that "market is the social institution of exchanges where prices or exchange equivalencies exist. 'Marketplace' refers to these interactions in a customary time and place governing exchange… A market can exist without being localised in a marketplace, but it is hard to imagine a market place without some sort of institutions" (p.171). Thus "market places embody a localised set of social institutions, social actors, property rights, products, transactional relationships, trade practices, and cultural meanings framed by a wide variety of factors including, but not limited to, 'purely economic' or 'market' forces" (Bestor, 2001:9227).John F. Sherry, Jr. (1989) points out that *"m*arketplace exchange most typically studied by anthropologists can be characterised by several interdependent processual dimensions and institutional forms. At the level of process, analyses have been locational, interactional and allocational. Locational analysis tracks the spatial flow of goods from production to exchange, or from sale to consumption. Interactional analysis has probed the social relations of transactors, with special attention to features such as bargaining dynamics, trading partnerships and ceremonial gift giving. Allocational analysis describes the outcome of transactions in quantitative economic values" (p.556). Further, transitional society studies are critical to the understanding of articulation and linkage issues, as economies of numerous kinds and scales combine to create a world system or systems (Choate and Linger 1988). "Markets are so routinely regarded as

fundamentally economic institutions that long-standing and quite varied anthropological perspectives on them are often overlooked. Anthropological attention focuses on patterns of individual and small-group exchange relationships within specific markets, on institutional structures that organise markets, and on the social, political, and spatial hierarchies through which markets link social classes, ethnic groups, or regional societies into larger systems. Anthropological studies of markets analyse them as nodes of complex social processes and generators of cultural activity as well as realms for economic exchange. Anthropologists' interests in markets, therefore, are partially distinct from—although certain overlapping with—the concerns of economists" (Bestor,2001:9227). Markets in both tangible goods and intangible intellectual property have expanded to the point where economic transactions have created relationships of exchange between far-flung peoples and led to subsequent transformations in the meaning of money under global capitalism influences, which becomes a fertile ground for anthropological exploration (Gudeman, 2001).

Relationships of exchange in context of a market was first explored in the path-breaking work of Polish-British anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski in the Trobriand Islands recorded in his book the *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922). The Trobriand islanders travelled across islands for trade. This travel undertaken by canoe for at times hundreds of miles was through the unpredictable ocean and was often dangerous and life threatening. What propelled the islanders were a series of simultaneous ceremonial exchanges of trinkets, known as *Kula*, which took place during these trading visits. Malinowski was intrigued by the question that "why would men risk life and limb to travel across huge expanses of dangerous ocean to give away what appear to be worthless trinkets"?He carefully traced the network of exchanges of these trinkets (bracelets and necklaces) across the Trobriand Islands. He found that all *Kula* valuables are non-use items traded purely for purposes of enhancing one's social status and prestige. Carefully prescribed customs and traditions surround the ceremonies that accompany the exchanges. The right of participation in Kula exchange is not automatic. One has to "buy" one's way into it through participating in various lower spheres of exchange. The relationship between giver-receiver is always asymmetrical: the former is higher in status. Kula valuables are ranked according to value and age, as are the relationships that are created through their exchange. Participants will often strive to obtain particularly valuable and renowned Kula objects whose owner's fame will spread quickly through the archipelago. Such a competition unfolds through different persons offering *pokala* (offerings) and *kaributu* (solicitory gifts) to the owner, thus seeking to induce him to engage in a gift exchange relationship involving the desired object. Kula exchange therefore involves a complex system of gifts and countergifts whose rules are laid down by custom. The system is based on trust as obligations are not legally enforceable, however they establish strong, ideally lifelong relationships between the exchange parties (*karayta'u*,

"partners"). Kula was exchanged in a ring like pattern among the various islands, giving rise to the term Kula ring, valuables consisted of red shell-disc necklaces (*veigun* or *soulava*) that were traded to the north (circling the ring in clockwise direction) and white shell armbands (*mwali*) that were traded in the southern direction (circling counterclockwise).The exchange of Kula valuables was accompanied by the trade in other items known as *gimwali* (barter).Marcel Mauss, the author of the book *The Gift* (1925) both debated and expanded on Malinowski's work where he emphasised that the gifts were not between individuals, but between representatives of larger collectivities. He argued these gifts were a 'total presentation' as they were not simple, alienable commodities to be bought and sold, but like the 'crown jewels'which embodied the reputation, history and sense of identity of a 'corporate kin group'. This brought to the forefront a system of relationship that though accompanied by trade, represented a much larger process of customary network.

In today's world of globalisation the capitalist economy is increasingly taking over or influencing all kinds of markets, however one can still find parallel references similar to the revelations by Malinowski. Economic and social costs of exchange include those of establishing trust and reliability among trade partners, soliciting or extending credit, guaranteeing stable sources of supply, enforcing compliance with agreements, recruiting labour, distributing profits, monitoring employees, obtaining information on market conditions, creating or enforcing property rights, managing risk, and so forth (Geertz, 1978). "Various patterns of social structure that enable markets to form and economic transactions to occur are often conceptualised—by anthropologists influenced by institutional economics and sociology—in terms of 'governance structures,' the institutional structures that organise, constrain, and coordinate economic activities, that sanction some behaviours and provide incentives for others. Deferent governance structures—deferent forms of market relationships, deferent forms of business organisation—provide deferent solutions to the challenges of achieving social and economic integration over the 'transaction costs' that all economic institutions must bear. Governance structures are, therefore, social institutions and systems of norms familiar to anthropologists in many other contexts and subject to similar kinds of social and cultural analyses. Governance structures range along a theoretical continuum, from 'market governance' to 'governance by hierarchy'" (Bestor, 2001:9228).

Check Your Progress

1) What is a market? Write down some of its properties.

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2) What is the difference between a market and a market place?

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3) What do anthropologists study under locational, interactional and allocational analysis of a market place?

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4) Write some specifics of an anthropological perspective of market.

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Anthropologists focus ethnographically on the social structure of markets as institutional systems, the transactional behaviour of market participants, and networks among trade partners or among markets (Plattner 1985). They emphasise how economic activity is embedded in social institutions and relationships which structure solutions to economic problems (Acheson 1994). Anthropological insight brings to the forefront the way in which various communities and people have their own systems of belief. Equipped with this knowledge and understanding of people and communities anthropologist can provide a cross cultural perspective and contribute significantly to building synergies between different marketing practices. As we dwell further into applied aspects of anthropology let us look at how research methodology and methods of anthropology are used for understanding markets.

5.2 METHODOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN UNDERSTANDING MARKETS

"Anthropological analyses of markets are often ethnographically focused on market places while anthropological approaches to markets sometimes focus on the formal properties of exchange systems as frameworks for organising

behaviour, relying on quantitative analyses of exchange relationships. However, anthropologists generally place such analyses within wider ethnographic contexts that see market places as specific locations and social frameworks, characterised not only by economic exchanges in and among them, but also by their equally vital roles as arenas for cultural activity and political expression, nodes in flows of information, landmarks of historical and ritual significance, and centres of civic participation where diverse social, economic, ethnic, and cultural groups combine, collide, cooperate, collude, compete, and clash" (Bestor, 2001:9227). An anthropological study of markets is often ethno specific but with a holistic approach. Anthropological and sociological analyses emphasise this 'embeddedness' of markets in on-going patterns of social organisation and cultural meaning (Polanyi et al., 1957; Granovetter, 1985); that is, "economic behaviour is not analysed as an autonomous sphere of human activity, but as inseparably intertwined with a wide variety of social, political, ritual, and other cultural behaviours, institutions, and beliefs" (Bestor, 2001:9227).

Central place theory analyses the spatial distribution of markets within hierarchies of settlements ('centralplaces'), and within anthropology has been applied to peasant marketing systems and to interrelationships among urban markets. Alignments of trading patterns within market systems have been shown to be important indicators of a wide variety of other social, political, administrative, and ritual aspects of local, regional, and national organisation. Also known as 'regional analysis,' this approach was developed in anthropology by Skinner's ethnographic and historical research on China (Skinner 1977), and by extensive studies in Meso-America and elsewhere (Smith 1976).

Further, in the space of research methods, Bronislaw Malinowski (mentioned in the previous section), contributed (through his study of Trobriand Islands) to anthropology and to the understanding of markets through his methodological contribution to fieldwork, participant observation and the significance of ethnography which subsequently led to its establishment as a professional field. Anthropology has constantly engaged with market through its various subfield i.e. 'economic anthropology','industrial anthropology', 'anthropology of work', or 'applied anthropology in industry'in 1980s through 'business anthropology' in niches related to consumer behaviour and marketing which became a critical space for engagement in applied anthropology and mainstream economics. JohnF. Sherry, Jr. (1989) writes that "familiarity with the work of economic anthropologists could greatly assist marketers and consumer researchers in understanding marketing related behaviours in all types of societies, and facilitate practical, humane, culturally appropriate intervention in each type of society by local or foreign, private or governmental entrepreneurs and "developers." Conversely, familiarity with the work of marketers and consumer researchers could greatly assist anthropologists in understanding and interpreting the range of economic behaviour in complex society".A number of economic anthropologists have

used Bourdieu's perspectives on 'taste,' 'distinction,' and 'cultural capital' as points of departure for examining the cultural force of markets in shaping contemporary urban life. The call for an anthropology of consumption was formally issued by Douglas (1976), who forcefully argued that a systematic account of consumers' objectives had not yet been rendered, and that any proposed account should be consistent with a communications theory of the use of goods. Believing that consumption is ultimately about power, Douglas and Isherwood (1979) view the individual overriding objective of a consumer as being the acquisition and control of information about the changing cultural scene, to assure inclusion in "shared civilities." This focus on the exchange of information to the exclusion or slighting of other dimensions of consumption have provided other researchers with a point of departure for additional investigation, and a contextual framework in which to embed their own studies. Anthropologists such as Amould (Wallendorf and Amould 1988), McCracken (1986, 1988) and Sherry (1986) have used a cultural perspective to explore structural and processual dimensions of consumption phenomena, while Appadurai (1986) and his colleagues have launched an inquiry into the "social life" of consumption objects.

A comparative research at the culture level is also suggested (Mooij, 2004). McCracken (1990) demonstrates how the consumption process has meanings that resonate from culture. For McCracken, consumption is broadly defined to include the processes by which consumer goods and services are created, bought, and used. According to McCracken, the relationship between culture and consumption is profoundly interrelated within three contexts: history, theory, and practice. As such, anthropology and especially its ethnographic methods have been becoming increasingly popular sources from which to borrow tools to investigate marketing and consumer behaviour since the late 20th century (Olsen 1995).

Businesses and other organisations are increasingly hiring anthropologists and other ethnographically-oriented social scientists as employees, consultants, and advisors working as suppliers of consumer-insight for product design and marketing or as researchers of corporate ethnography looking at organisational practice, work design or business/marketing and organisational strategies and rethinking the nature of ethnographic praxis in the process.

As ethnography is a time intensive process and consumer research stipulates quick information in order to remain up-to-date in a highly competitive market, marketers have successfully employed many aspects of an anthropological perspective in marketing, in a shorter time frame. What results cannot be called an ethnography (nor are they designed to be), however, is usually complete enough to help the marketers understand the driving forces that shape consumers' belief and behaviours in a particular market (Tian, 1998). It is claimed that there is no better way to get close to the consumer or any other marketplace stakeholder for that matter, than by using ethnography as a bridge.

Observation is a principal method in anthropological marketing research. This skill is not just used in the conventional method of ethnography but also in more high tech modes like videotaping consumers in their natural habitats. The anthropological approach encompasses both a way of viewing consumer behaviours and techniques for understanding those behaviours (Sherry, 1995). Interview, is another method that is effectively used by anthropologists in understanding consumers. By recording in great detail how people live and how products fit into their lives, anthropologists often gain useful information that could not be easily gained from a formal interview. Griffith (1998) using semi-structured interview technique conducted research among both buyers and sellers in Jordan's central marketplace and illustrated a few of the many ways culture may influence one aspect of a retail structure in tradition-based societies. In a similar study, Rossiter and Chan (1998) found out that ethnicity plays a significant role in doing business and consumption. "Anthropological approach employs more subjective and qualitative methods that are invaluable within a number of contexts. Abrams (2000) indicates that in some cases quantitative analysis might not help decision makers to truly understand consumers, while "descriptive anthropology" (qualitative and observational) research often provides revealing insights. In recent years, anthropologically-inspired research tactics have become increasingly prominent within consumer research. For example, Thompson and Hirschman (1995) applied classic anthropology theories to study the consumers' self-conception of body images and self-care practices in the modern urban society to help the marketers understand the relationship between consumer "socialised body" and consumption behaviour. McFarlane (2001) observes that when consumer reaction to a new product needs to be determined, companies traditionally turn to the qualitative focus group (another qualitative method)"(Tian,2005:37).

Anthropology has also helped international businesses understand diverse cultures in order to operate effectively within different contexts. Effective use of anthropological methods has made a significant mark on consumer and marketing research, however it remains a space that anthropologists need to tread carefully with ethical consciousness.

5.3 ETHICAL DISCOURSE OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN MARKET

The applied aspect of anthropology has to engage in an ethical commentary as it has tremendous potential to influence people. Anthropologists need to traverse a delicate line in determining the direction that this influence takes. The mainstreaming of anthropological usage in the economic sphere of marketing and consumerism lends hand to global capitalism thus stream rolling over domestic and indigenous constituencies. Social science techniques in service of market research stand accused of promoting alienation and dependence among contemporary consumers in a fashion

similar to the mafias among Sicilian peasants (Gait and Smith, 1976). Whether the so-called globalisation of markets which are being witnessing are a desirable, irreversible trend resulting in the improvement of the life chances of all participants, and which should be catalysed and managed by standardised marketing interventions (Levitt, 1983), or an undesirable, reversible manifestation of ethnocentric conceptions of progress which disrupts the ecological, social and psychological balance of its unwilling conscripts, and which should be arrested or redirected by enlightened social policy (Bamet and Muller 1974; Bodley 1982) is a topic in urgent need of exploration (Sherry 1987).

The chasm of ethics and social responsibility needs to be bridged by studying the consequences of marketing decisions supported by social scientific research. Marketing requires "a greater commitment to theory-driven programmatic research, aimed at solving cognitive and socially significant problems" (Anderson, 1983). There is need for informed consumer consent in research, a clear understanding of common objectives and a stimulated exercise in comparative ethics to assess accurately consumer demand and provide feedback on the long term consequences at individual and systemic levels. “Research into consumption and marketing factors contributing to commerciogenic disease (Gerlach, 1980), dietary degradation (Whiteford, 1983), social disruption (including forced emigration, de-skilling, household decomposition, etc.) attendant upon the new international division of labour (Barkin 1983, Femandez-Kelly 1983, Safa 1983), and waste and inefficient use of resources (Sprague and Shimkin 1981) might be undertaken, and the findings used to frame marketing oriented solutions to these problems” (Sherry, Jr.,1989:559).

There is indeed significant anthropological contribution to this as well. Sherry (1983), points out that “to the extent that the spread of industrial capitalism may be held responsible for the "marginalisation and immiseration of the world's poor" (Hoben, 1982), we have been critical of corporate enterprises that fuel the processes of disenfranchisement at home and abroad. When governments have been destabilised (as in Chile), when the health of consumers has been jeopardised (as in the marketing of infant formula and various pharmaceuticals in the Third World), when products become a threat to healthy socialisation (as in the marketing of such video games as Cluster's Revenge), when culture change itself becomes dysfunctional (as in Harris' account of the aborted "American dream"), anthropologists have taken corporations to task. “This tradition of critically appraising and assessing culpability, of gauging the social impact of business activities, has culminated in Taussig's (1980) eloquent discussion of the shqiing by commodity fetishism of epistemology and praxis” (p.25). He says that “anthropology needs to "transcend the narrow, reactive advocacy role of championing the alienated worker and to assume a more proactive, advisory role in drafting and implementing humane strategic plans at the corporate organisation level” (Sherry, Jr., 1989:558). Towards this Sherry, Jr. (1989)

writes that "the quickest and most productive tack to pursue in forming an alliance of disciplines would be to alert marketers and consumer researchers to the predisposition of anthropologists toward advocacy, and to apprise anthropologists of the existence not only of social, macro and non-profit marketing, as well as consumer research, but also of the variety of regulatory bodies interested in applied consumer research" (p.559).

Check Your Progress

5) What are the two key contributions of Bronisław Malinowski to the study of markets in anthropology?

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6) What was Mary Douglas' key argument when she called for an anthropology of consumption?

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7) Why do business houses hire anthropologists?

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8) How can anthropologists abide by an ethical and socially responsible behaviour in consumer research?

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5.4 SUMMARY

We have looked at a number of anthropological insights into the study of markets, the use of anthropological methodology and the advantage of anthropological methods in an in-depth holistic understanding of markets and some ethical dilemma and discourse of the applied aspects of anthropology. We have actively looked at consumer behaviour and marketing as a space for cross pollination between anthropology and economics. Worth mentioning in this space is the virtual space which is ever expanding and needs active involvement of people and communities in this globally networked space. The variety of marketing apps ranges from consumer goods, to food, to investment, to health and so on. Further, there is a glancing mention of corporate ethnographies, which is an equally crucial area of exploration as multinational and transnational organisation operating in multiple geographical locales need constant support including the assistance of how employees that transit between these geographies can conduct as well as assimilate themselves in the new environment. Another, fertile and significant area of exploration is that of (CSR) Corporate Social Responsibility where corporates engage with communities for socially relevant purposes. Anthropologists can contribute significantly in this area by initiating a discussion between financial values and socio-cultural values.

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5.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) Refer to section 5.0
2) Refer to section 5.0
3) Refer to paragraph 1 of section 5.1
4) Refer to section 5.1
5) Refer to paragraph 3 of section 5.2
6) Refer to paragraph 3 of section 5.2
7) Refer to paragraph 5 and 6 of section 5.2
8) Refer to paragraph 2 and 3 of section 5.3

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UNIT 9 APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY AND MULTIMEDIA*

Contents

9.0 Introduction

9.1 Broad areas of Multimedia Research in Anthropology

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Learning Outcomes:

After reading this unit the students will learn to:

- Define basic terminologies like medium, media, media-scape, mass media and multimedia, in the context of anthropology
- Explore broad areas of multimedia research in anthropology and
- Gain perspective on intersectional and applied areas of research between anthropology and specific socially relevant areas of concern.

9.0 INTRODUCTION

"According to Merriam-Webster's Dictionary, a medium is a channel or an intervening agency by means of which something is conveyed or accomplished (the plural of medium is media). By this definition, languages and rituals are probably the examples of the earliest forms of media because ideas of belonging are conveyed and contested through words, rites, ceremonies, and practices. Also, just as all other kinds of media, rituals, as Victor Turner (1974) noted, have a sensory aspect, that is, they engage our senses of sight and sound and have an ideological aspect. They convey important messages. Thus, the study of human society cannot proceed without looking at the media, and both the language and the ritual have been

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concerns of the anthropologists for a long time" (Majumder, 2010:287). Further, there have been a number of folk forms of communications which have often successfully integrated different mediums in the form of dance, music, painting, puppetry to communicate culture across the community and generations, and can be easily visualised as an effective use of multimedia which is defined as "using, involving, or encompassing several media" a technique (such as the combining of sound, video, and text) for expressing ideas (as in communication, entertainment, or art) in which several media are employed. Some such examples from within India are the Pattachitra or Patachitra (of Odisha and West Bengal) a general term for traditional, cloth-based scroll painting originally serving as a visual device during the performance of a song, thus simultaneously using two different mediums to visual art and lyrics communicate cultural information. Or Kathputli the puppet-playing tradition in Rajasthan, based on popular legends and performed by skilled puppeteers. Same remains true for the myriad folk dances of India. Yet, an integral part of what anthropologists have always studied did not get recognised as 'media' research until the study of mass medium "a medium of communication (such as newspapers, radio, or television) that is designed to reach the mass of the people", emerged as a separate sub-discipline in anthropology. Thus the recognition of media in anthropological research actually came from its association with technology. This was especially true in the post–World War II era, which saw an improvement and spread of technologies of mass communication and mediation on an unprecedented scale. Scholars like Ruth Benedict, Clifford Geertz, Ernest Gellner, and Anthony Smith produced a body of knowledge in mass communication studies by shifting the focus of their studies from mass society to anthropology and provided space for mass communication to appear on the board. The studies conducted by these scholars addressed the issue of television's effect on national identity. (Benedict, 1946; Geertz, 1963; Gellner, 1983; Smith, 1994)

Today, with the ever encompassing spread of ICT (information and communication technology), it is becoming increasingly difficult to talk about cultural practices without acknowledging the ubiquity of global media. Traditionally anthropological "disciplinary emphasis was on non-western, the so called "primitive" or isolated communities lacking the ostensible features of modernity, including electronic forms of mass mediation" (Pardo, Erken Brack, and Jackson, 2012). However in today's day and age, electronic technology has reached far and beyond and the above mentioned folk forms of cultural expression have found their space within electronic and digital media, which is in equal parts influencing changes in communication and expression for an international platform. Philip C. Salzman distinguished the traditional forms of mass media, the print media and the electronic media. He discussed in his study titled 'The Elephant Trojan Horse: Television in the Globalization of Para-modern Cultures' in 1996 that the electronic media has changed the whole nature of mass communication across the globe. Nair and

Sharma, 2015, while discussing on the power of influence that television has as a communication medium, he argued that the electronic forms of communication is coded through the same human skills of speech and body movements that are characteristics of face-to-face communication. In his study, he tried to convince that television broadcasting is highly diverse in nature and it can transmit and broadcast messages across social and cultural boundaries and has the potential to bring immense social and cultural changes in societies not possible by any other communication medium (Salzman, 1996). From print to electronic and to the digital age, mass media has changed and are changing the ways people work, think about themselves and interact with each other. The new media, especially internet, mobile communication and high definition broadcasting are infiltrating every aspect of social and cultural life in many cultures and societies. The flow of images, sound and textual information over multiple delivery platforms is a complex process and has a strong influence on the contemporary societies. Louisa Schein (2002) stated that "the way the people understand who they are and how they belong is never anterior to, indeed is inseparable from, the kinds of media they use or consume" (p. 231). "In other words, self-understanding and identity are not given to one in their authentic form, but are produced, of course, within relationships of power and domination and are constituted within a system of representation. Representation and systems of representation are key concepts in the anthropology of mass media" (Majumder, 2010:288). Stuart Hall one of the founding figures of the school of thought known as the Birmingham School of Cultural StReprudies maintained that "the meaning is produced, communicated, and understood within systems of representation. The systems of representations work like languages, not because they are spoken or written but because they all use some element to stand for, or represent, what we want to say and to express. They communicate a thought, concept, idea, or feeling. Sounds, musical notes, words, items of clothing, facial expressions, gestures, body movements, and digitally produced dots on the screen do not have any clear meaning in themselves, but they signify. They operate as symbols and carry meanings as vehicles or media. In short, they function as signs. It is in these webs of signification that we make sense of ourselves" (Majumder, 2010:288).

Anthropology has broken the bonds of compartmentalisation in terms of its subject matter of study and is effectively utilising its methodological foundation to explore different avenues of research. "Anthropologists have begun to develop productive ways of including mass mediation into their ethnographic accounts" (Pardo, Erken Brack, and Jackson, 2012). A subfield of anthropology which has contributed significantly to the use of multimedia within anthropology is 'visual anthropology', which uses images to enhance the communication of anthropological observations and insights through the use of photography, film, and video. Visual anthropology also looks at the significance of visual aspect of life (what a visual image represent?) for a

particular society/culture/civilisation. Its methods thus include photographic elicitation or the use of images to stimulate culturally relevant reflections from informants. The end results are narratives (film, video, photo essays) which communicate typical events of a cultural scene. “This ubiquity of mass media worldwide made it increasingly difficult for anthropologists to study rituals and interactions without looking at how they take place in settings saturated with information, images, sounds, and ideas dished out by different kinds of media, such as television, photography, film, radio, and the Internet” (Majumder, 2010:287). This is further enriched by the term "mediascape", coined by Arjun Appadurai (1991), envisaging media in "global cultural flows". In this, “media is a word that can be used to describe a set of technologies that connect multiple people at one time to shared content” (Pardo, Erken Brack, and Jackson, 2012). It dwells on the images of the world created by media. These imagery might come from books, magazines, television, cinema, and advertising that can influence, how people perceive reality. It is also used as a generic term to describe a digital media artifact. These bring the mode of multimedia transmission like the television/smart phones into the folds of enquiry into media.

The disciplinary focus of ‘media’ in anthropology found its genesis in the nexus of information, communication and technology. Recognition of the role that the mass media plays and the methodological nuances of visual anthropology have brought the mediated quality of culture to the foreground. It is thus evident that any discourse on multimedia has to be closely related to ‘mass media/media anthropology’as well as ‘visual anthropology’ for its relevance in ‘multi-media’ as an area of interest within anthropology. Further, it is imperative to explore this space through disciplines that are in conversation with anthropologists on this subject, including media studies, communications studies, and cultural studies. In today’s day and age all mass media usually uses a mix of different mediums including text, visuals, sound, animation/caricatures and films combining them with technology and can thus be understood as multimedia. The newspapers that we read today are not only a combination of text and visuals, but can also be found easily on line in the digital platform, the same remains true for other media material. Thus, in today’s contexts almost all media is used in combination with one or the other and can be recognised as multimedia.

9.1 BROAD AREAS OF MULTIMEDIA RESEARCH IN ANTHROPOLOGY

“Media anthropology is an awareness of the interaction (both real and potential) between the various academic and applied aspects of anthropology and the multitude of media” (Eiselein, Topper, 1976:114). Further, Debra Spitulnik who has focused on visual anthropology and ethnographic films, indigenous and alternative media, national media, and interpretative practices at both ends of the mass communication process believes, “Given the various

modalities and spheres of operation, there are numerous angles of approaching mass media anthropologically: as institutions, as workplaces, as communicative practices, as cultural products, as social activities, as aesthetic forms, as historical developments" (Spitulnik, 1993:293). K. Askew, who uses both the terms media anthropology and anthropology of media, speaks of an "ethnographically informed, historically grounded, and context-sensitive analysis of the ways in which people use and make sense of media technologies" (Askew, 2003:3). An anthropological perspective on media can thus consist of varied interests and concerns. They might look at:

a) Content analysis.

b) Ethnographic studies of production, transmission and reception of multi-media.

c) Reflect on cultural contexts of production, consumption, and interpretation, looking at how media are designed or adapted for use by specific communities or cultural groups.

d) Focus on particular sites of production looking at both the institutional structures and circumstances of cultural producers.

e) Examine the role that multi-media plays in the lives of individuals and communities.

f) The measuring and identifying of media's social effects and influence.

g) "People's engagement with media and how that shapes their ideas of themselves and of the intimate and the distant, the places and peoples, and economic, political, religious, and cultural actions and their practices" (Majumder, 2010:288).

h) The meaning behind mediated images, sounds, and ideas and their subsequent interpretation.

i) Methodological exploration of how anthropology might best address digital media and online communities.

j) "How do media technologies enable new forms of social interaction? And how media technologies mediate between people rather than simply looking at the effects of media on individuals" (Majumder, 2010:288)?

k) How does engagement with media transform the conceptions of space and time?

l) How public relations coordinators negotiate state and corporate hierarchiesas well as how marginalised groups effectively use media as their voice?

m) How media is used to negotiate ideas, practices of domination, power, and stereotyping embedded?

n) Influence of media in social formations, such as the nation, the state, and ethnic groups?

o) How different "indigenous" groups use media in order to disseminate their culture and to affirm a specific identity?

p) How media influences social transformation?

q) The significance of media for and of diasporic communities or cultural communities dispersed from their original homelands

r) Sensory approach to media, in terms of how media is experienced by people.

And so on……

There are multiple ways in which anthropologists have engaged with "the media" both as a tool of representation and an object of study. For the purpose of clarity and simplicity with respect to various aspects of multimedia and anthropology, let us first divide it into two sections:

i) Multimedia as a tool for facilitating research within anthropology.

ii) Multimedia as a subject or object of research for anthropology.

Just because we created two sections within our interest in multimedia let us keep in mind that they are not mutually exclusive. As is often pointed out, anthropology attempts a holistic study, thus just because we have created sections for better understanding of the topic in question, it does not mean that they cannot overlap in research and in practice. This is extremely important to keep in mind when one is trying to understand the applied aspect of anthropology. Eg. One can use an ethnographic film to explore the television watching experience within a family or a community television in a village. Or have a textual write-up along with extensive photographs combining text with visuals. Thus the use of multimedia as a research tool can be effectively integrated in the research of multimedia as a subject of anthropology.

9.1.1 Multimedia as A Research Tool

As we find improvement in technology anthropology has also reached out to use the available technological innovations in effective documentation and representation of ethnographic data, and the use of multimedia as a research tool. The advent of smartphones has made the accessibility to technology and equipment even easier. Further, this kind of equipment is of double advantage as it is non-conspicuous in nature and does not make the research participants conscious while the recorded information can be easily played back for receiving informed consent of the participants. However, this journey has been a long one and not necessarily easy.

One of the key anthropological works involving effective use of photography as a part of scientific ethnographic analysis is attributed to Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead's work *Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis (*1942), where the said anthropologists captured the nuances of their field in 25,000 photos, while conducting research in Bali. 759 of these photographs

were used to support and develop their ethnographic observations. These photographs were arranged in a sequential pattern like stop-motion movie clips and illustrated how the Balinese research subjects performed social rituals or engaged in routine everyday behaviour. It is not to say that the use of photographs did not exist before this, “In the mid-nineteenth century, academic anthropologists began collecting and making photographs of the people they studied. So-called "collecting clubs" included the British anthropologists Edward Burnett Tylor, Alfred Cort Haddon, and Henry Balfour, who exchanged and shared photographs as part of an attempt to document and classify ethnographic "races.""(Hirst, 2019) These photographs however carried the burden of a racist bias in usually recording the colonised ‘other’.

Anthropological fore, however, into ethnographic films began with the work of Robert Flaherty in the film *Nanook of the North (*1922), with silent recording of activities of an Inuit band in the Canadian Arctic, however this work was later criticised as being deceptive and staged. This brought to the forefront the need for ethical screening of ethnographic material, it also brings to the forth questions like whether or not a photograph can be truly spontaneous or un-staged, issues of informed consent and anonymity, and people’s right to representation of self, etc. In today’s world where almost everyone is equipped with a smart phone and thus the access to videography, an anthropologist’s role and knowledge of a culture and community becomes especially important and relevant in ethical screening and contextualisation of data. It also renders the task of ethnographic filmmaking an extremely relevant recording tool along with a relevant discourse on ethical consideration and an expression of people’s thoughts and voices.

Check Your Progress

1) When did the study of ‘media’ gain relevance in anthropology? Which are the two sub-fields of anthropology which bring out the relevance of multimedia in anthropology?

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2) What is multimedia? And what can be studied under multimedia?

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3) According to Debra Spitulnik what are the different angles of approaching mass media anthropologically?

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4) What does the term,"collecting clubs" refer to?

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9.1.2 Multimedia As A Subject or Object of Research for Anthropology

In this section we look at how anthropologists have engaged in the study and the understanding of multimedia. Looking at some research conducted as well as other scopes of work, through three different headings.

a) Multimedia Infrastructure
b) Multimedia Creation and its influence
c) Multimedia and related social behaviour

9.1.2.1 Multimedia Infrastructure

There are two types of media infrastructure: mechanical infrastructure and cultural infrastructure. Mechanical infrastructure includes the apparatuses that bring networks of technology into existence and include the material technological networks that allow for the exchange of goods, ideas, waste, people, power and finance over space. For example, Brian Larkin (2008), a media anthropologist working in Nigeria, noted that the geographical location of cinemas in the city of Kano was based on the colonial requirement that there be a 440 yard buffer zone between white and black populations. This requirement controlled the ways that electrical grids and transportation routes were developed. In this way, various entangled infrastructures are implicated in the forms of taboo, desire, and fantasy shared by members of a society in locations like the movie theatre. Similarly, media infrastructure would consist of all other media related infrastructure, like the placement of mobile network and television towers, laying of internet cable etc. for information transmission. However, just because an infrastructure exists does not mean

that its usage is always available, it is often controlled by the cultural infrastructure.

Cultural infrastructure exists at different levels of society including the broad geopolitical levels to the smallest social unit in that of a family/household. *Cultural Infrastructure* refers to the values and beliefs of communities, states, and/or societies that make the imagining of a particular type of network possible. Say for instance, the cultural infrastructure is dependent on the political agenda and policies of a country which might enable or hinder the use of a particular media by creating or blocking the mechanical infrastructure. In case of India mobile and internet transmission in a particular geographical area might be (needed to be) blocked or hazed out due to socio-political or criminal uprising. There was a blocking of communication in Kashmir after the repealing of Section 377 in an attempt to control probable unrest, while during the Mumbai 26/11 terrorist attack in 2008 the lack of protocol for media screening and blockage lead to information being inadvertently passed on to the terrorists. Similarly at the household level cultural infrastructure will decide whether or not individuals will have access to technology or communication related gadgets, or the screening of the media material being consumed, or the time being allotted for the same etc. The sections that follow speak further about the cultural infrastructure and its influences.

9.1.2.2 Multimedia Creation and its Influence

Looking at cultural infrastructure, the very creation of media itself has often become a source of an ethnographic study. The initial studies in the production of media were under the aegis of sociology by M. Schudson in "sociology of the newsroom", and by P. Schlessinger"the empirical study of news production", which used ethnographic methods to research newsrooms and interpret the "media culture". They included studies of the processes through which these cultural products are institutionally created and distributed by specialists in the mass media industry. Recent evaluations elucidate that, "though relatively few in number, ethnographic studies proved to be highly influential. Collectively they demonstrated how the in-depth study of the news producers, their cultural milieu and professional domains could help to explain the dynamics and determinants of news output" (Cottle 2000:19).

The ethnography of multimedia production and creation can consist of various aspects that include the institutional ideology, social structure, infrastructure, technology of the media creating unit, and their interaction with each other. It can seek to address power centres within the infrastructure, leadership and the role of key media personalities as the king of multimedia being created and projected. Say for example, what is the first thought that comes to your mind when you think of the news anchor Arnab Goswami and the phrase 'Nation wants to know'?, the media personality who has started a particular trend of presentation. Media and information

production is also controlled by broader socio-cultural and political power centres outside of the media production units, these power centres might influence the media production units both positively or negatively in terms of advertising, social movements and protests or anti-campaigns, which are all a part of anthropological concerns.

In the mid 1900s when mass studies took focus in America, it was believed that mass media can be successfully used as a tool to control the mind of audiences, visualising it as a single system of flow of information and its recipient as mute absorbers. Hall (1997) pointed out that representational strategies prevalent in media practice try to fix the meanings of images, sound-bytes, and visuals. Hall argued that power works through such representational strategies, such as those that try to fix the meanings and thereby invoke an ideal viewer/listener. However, he framed the study of mass media in terms of production and reception or encoding and decoding of meanings within systems of representations. This encoding/ decoding formulation allowed for multiple interpretations of media texts during the process of production and reception. Hall emphasised on the active participation of the audience and actors involved in the production of media. Audiences interpret and read the media in ways other than what has been intentioned in the strategies of who control the production of the media. Thus, he pointed out that the meaning of mass mediated images and sounds are slippery. Hall brought to media studies a perspective that went beyond the model of mass media as simply a tool in the hands of the authorities to propagate their images and views of the world. Hall's model provided anthropologists with a theoretical framework to study production, dissemination, and reception of media ethnographically.

In her book *Dramas of Nationhood (2005)*, Lila Abu-Lughod looks at how nationally televised Egyptian soap operas were interpreted by those who watched them. Her research revealed that the communities of watchers of the soap opera did not necessarily interpret the shows to mean what the directors and writers had originally *intended* for it to convey.Thus the producers did not wholly control meaning or the value(s) that were identified by the audience. Further, different media gave different messages or meanings. If the same message is broadcast on radio and television, the histories and cultural associations of these two technologies affects the meaning of the message being conveyed. Televised soap operas were interpreted quite differently, for instance, than the spoken poetry. Similarly, Debra Spitulnik (1993) turned attention to technological forms of mediation and social contexts in which such technologies are appropriated. While Hall's encoding/decoding model helps us to imagine an active audience, an attention to technologies of mediation helps us to realise how a medium shapes the social relations and the audience's perception.

Media production and circulation today is commonplace with the use of cell phones and Whatsapp memes and graphics, and software like 'tiktok' not

only are sources of both information and mis-information but are also sources of both positive networked communication as well as creation of fake news and social upheavals. Anthropological insights to communities and enquiry become critical to understanding these phenomena as well as in expanding research and methodological boundaries.

9.1.2.3 Multimedia and Related Social Behaviour

Abu-Lughod (2005) demonstrated that *there is no universal way of consuming media; media consumption is bound to culture.* How Egyptian women participate in listening to or watching soap operas together, the practices of who sits where, of what can or cannot be eaten during a show, or of when a show might be aired, is all bound to the norms and values of the community. J. Lull (1988) points towards this discourse in terms of the "practical social arrangements" to cover: a) the location of objects and people inside the room with the TV set, the relations between family members and mass media supports, rhythms of consumption, forms of control distribution, etc.; b) concrete acts of reception - ways of utilising supports and content, relations with the messages, interactions between people during reception, values and attitudes towards mass media or towards precise media content, etc.; and c) the discourse referring to the received messages.

Similarly, if you have a discussion with your parents or grandparents, they would regale you with stories when television had first come into India. Not only was buying of a television set a prestigious and eventful occasion, it was often a source of families and community spending time together. Programmes were few and far between, with Doordarshan being the only transmitter during that time. Neighbours would often come together to watch television at the appointed time of a show, who was included and who was not, who sat where, who controlled the television as well as the hospitality that the host provided, were all important statements of power, social status and acceptance.The country was still young and social messages often consisted of ideas of oneness and solidarity, and the imprint of this medium and messages were so significant that the old jingles, advertisement and serials still find extensive visualisation and representation in the memory scape of the older generations. Multimedia thus played important role in socialising and social life of people. Compared to this the present day has seen a paradigm shift in entertainment and communication, which has become extremely personalised. Almost everyone can be found with their heads bent over their cell phones, choosing the kind of movies, videos clips, memes they want to watch including humour, music, news and so on. Socialising with family and friends has shifted from real world to the virtual world where communication has moved to the realm of Facebook, Whatsapp, Instagram etc. Research related to changes in family and community structure, people's interaction, changing cultural ideologies, power structure, media influence and meaning in both local and global spaces all become a part of anthropological enquiry.

We have looked at anthropological enquiry in multimedia in terms of multimedia being an area of research as well as a tool for research, we continue this quest in the next section looking at how multimedia research can focus on specific social and political issues exploring some intersectional areas of research as examples and foreground of how anthropological quest can seek greater applied and action oriented combinations.

9.2 INTERSECTIONAL AREAS OF RESEARCH

In this section on intersectional areas of research between multimedia and other issues of relevance, we are looking at just three interconnected issues as examples for exploration of other such concerns.

9.2.1 Multimedia and Power

Media circulation, production, and reception occur within political, economic contexts that define access to cultural and material resources and occur within the constant gaze of the state trying to control its representations to the citizens. One such study was by Purnima Mankekar (1999) who argued that the televised Indian epic Ramayan "might have participated in reconfigurations of nation, culture, and community that overlapped with and reinforced Hindu nationalism" (Majumder, 2010:289) in the early 1990s. The televised epic, Mankekar notes, was part of a socio-historical conjuncture in which inclusion and exclusion within the Indian national community was constructed in terms of being a Hindu. She also pointed out that media may transform nationalistic feelings for the purposes of specific commercial imperatives of selling commodities to a particular group.Yet new subjectivities and sensibilities and networks that surpass the national and state borders emerge to form a transnational public sphere that span geo-linguistic regions and beyond. Ethnographic studies enable subtle understanding of operation of power and actions of individuals and groups by looking at influences of state ideologies, histories of migration, and trans-border connections on reception and appropriation of images, sounds, and ideas represented by various kinds of media.

9.2.2 Multimedia and Gender

Multimedia is well recognised for its gender representations both in terms of propagating stereotypes as well as for forming suitable grounds for expression, claims and change. Unfortunately the former has been more prevalent than the latter. Objectification of women in media has been an area of active discourse. Beginning from scantily clad bodily representations of women with enhanced physical assets from comic animations to video games, stereotypes are permeated directly and indirectly, verbally and nonverbally not only through visual but also subtly by commenting on women's appearance in a humorous way, making jokes and gags, and using

double meanings, by highlighting an archetype of beauty based on skin colour and size zero.

Representation of men is equally stereotypical with masculine ideas of how men and boys should behave often representing them as superior, virile, leader, competitive, aggressive and entitled. Most societies socialise men and boys to assume that they can assert their (supposed) superiority over women and consolidate their general position of dominance over them (physically, intellectually, and sexually)*(Messner, 2000)* and the same is often mirrored by media. This remains true for the third gender as well who often find stereotypical queer representations in multimedia, leading to reaffirmation of ostracism.

Media is however also being effectively used to break stereotypes and raise awareness. The "Me too" movement is one such campaign where multimedia has played a significant role in providing space for awareness, expression and strength, by allowing both anonymity as well as faces and platform as per individual requirement.

This also brings to the forefront the issues of casting couch and exploitation within media industry itself, which is plagued by issues of unequal gender diversification at the higher rugs of the structure, disparity in emoluments as well as reduced career choices for women as age progresses. Academic studies focused on gender, its representations in modern society and culture in the film, advertisement and media production industries, the digital space etc. can be accentuated immensely through an anthropological lens.

9.2.3 Digital Media

When one visualises the virtual world, one often imagines it away from reality and segregated from the everyday. Daniel Miller and Don Slater (2000), in laying out an ethnographic approach to the study of the Internet, avoid treating the Internet as global technology that has appropriated a locale or society. Their study of Internet practices in Trinidad shows that, contrary to the expectations, uses of the Internet are not opposed to "traditional" or "real" forms of relationship, especially kinship. The Internet, Miller and Slater find, is strongly continuous with those values that were developed first in kinship and later through the experience of mass consumption. Thus, they conclude that online and offline worlds penetrate each other deeply and in complex ways. People use the Internet to realise older concepts of identity or to pursue new modes of sociality. This will be apparent to you if you look at your cell phones and recognise the Whatsapp groups that you are a part of. These groups are a representation of your social inclusions and exclusions and often an extension of your identity and the things that you identify with.

Similarly, Mary Gray (2009) argued about the Internet's more closely controlled access points. She pointed out that it "allowed queer youth to carve out online spaces for their emerging identities. The importance of these

online spaces for developing personal identity also meant that it was difficult to distinguish between "online" and "offline" personas. Gray took a meaning-focused approach to understand the ways in which rural LGBT youth create identities and feelings of belongingness in concealed online worlds."

The use of anthropology in the digital medium certainly expands the scope of the discipline to explore and consider methodological combinations and innovations in order to understand phenomena which is highly complex and expansive yet grounded in socio-cultural realities. It is indeed a discourse that is contemporary and exciting.

Anthropology can contribute to other applied and intersectional topics including multimedia and changing lifestyle, looking at lifestyle related medical problems, say for instance how constant viewing of a screen is effecting one's eyesight (and beyond); multimedia and social awareness/ developmental programmes -population studies to understand how messages and videos can be made effective so that audiences are more receptive to the information being propagated. And multimedia and state's control/ propaganda/ violence/activism. For example. Jeffrey Juris (2008) has argued that the Internet interactions allowed anti-corporate, anti-globalisation activists in Spain, Indonesia, and the United States to feel and express the threat represented by the Group of Eight summit (a meeting of eight of the largest world economies). These feelings generated a sense of solidarity that was not reducible to language and strengthened the relationship between meanings and feeling that is a part of media and communication.

These studies (in the section digital media) speak of not just the digital space but also the confluence between multimedia, digital/ virtual space and kinship, gender and marginalised (or advocacy) groups respectively. Similarly, one can pursue multifaceted multidisciplinary research in the area of multimedia with the anthropological perspective and methodology adding to a holistic and interconnected approach.

Check Your Progress

5) What are the two types of media infrastructure?

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6) What was the theoretical framework suggested by Stuart Hall to study production, dissemination, and reception of media ethnographically?

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7) What are the key findings of Lila Abu-Lughod's research?

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8) What did Daniel Miller and Don Slater's ethnographic study of the Internet reveal?

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9.3 SUMMARY

We have learnt through this discourse that media is an inherent part of existence. Communication even at the individual level is through various mediums which might include facial expressions, bodily gestures, speech etc. which are culturally patterned and understood. However, in anthropology the recognition of media studies have come into prominence with mass media, and in today's age a combination of multiple medium of communication through the use of a combination of digital and multiple mediums has become commonplace and everyday. We have looked at the use of multimedia as an anthropological tool in strengthening research methodology as well as anthropological exploration of multimedia, realising that they can work as a continuum as well as without each other. We have explored the various areas of interest that an anthropologist working in the area of multimedia can peruse and reflected on this using some known anthropological works and the intersectional areas of concerns and query. Present discussion is just a foray into the myriad of possibilities waiting to be explored.

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9.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) The study of media in anthropology gained prominence in the post-World War II era. The two sub-fields of anthropology which bring out the relevance of multimedia in anthropology are 'mass media/media anthropology' and 'visual anthropology'.
2) See section 9.0
3) See section 9.1
4) See 2nd paragraph of section 9.1.1
5) See 1st paragraph of section 9.1.2.1
6) See 2nd paragraph of section 9.1.2.2
7) See 4th paragraph of section 9.1.2.2 and 1st paragraph of section 9.1.2.3
8) See 1st paragraph of section 9.2.3

UNIT 12 CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT*

Contents

12.0 Introduction

12.1 Understanding the Significance of Capacity Development within Development

12.2 The Complexity of Capacity Development

12.3 Summary

12.4 References

12.5 Answers to Check Your Progress

Learning Outcomes:

After reading this Unit the students will learn to:

- Define the conceptual difference between capacity building and capacity development;
- Describe the idea behind capacity development within the development discourse;
- Explain the difference between anthropological and sociological understanding of capacity development and donor driven development discourse.
- Identify some complexities related to capacity development.

12.0 INTRODUCTION

It is obvious from the term 'capacity development' that the phenomenon is a part of the development discourse which looks towards transformation and social change. Anthropologists have always played a significant role in the development discourse as both facilitators of development as well as critiques of development. This role has become even more significant today as the idea of development, through the international policy conceptualisation of the sustainable development goals, has become all pervasive in the areas of governance and administration. "In the past two decades, capacity building has noticeably decoupled from development agendas and is now valued as a tool of governance, administration, future building, and 'progress' in its own right. A bewildering range of sites today present themselves: it can be found in the lexicons of government (Hughes et al. 2010), third sector (Linnell 2003; O'Reilly 2011), religious (McDougall 2013), medical (Kelly 2011; Geissler et al. 2014), environmental (United Nations Environmental Programme [UNEP] 2002) and even familiar academic agendas (Danaher et al. 2012; Pfotenhauer et al. 2013, 2016)" (Douglas-Jones and Shaffner, 2017). While the concept finds its own significance in various disciplinary

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and sectoral discourses, its interconnectivity with development has found equal relevance through these intersectional spaces increasing its scope. Anthropology as a canopied discipline that focuses on a holistic perspective and interconnectedness in society remains in a strong position to engage effectively in the discourse of capacity development.

The Development discourse established itself in a top down perspective, with global historically established colonial powers taking a paternalistic approach of providing a helping hand to the less fortunate third world countries in the post second world war scenario. This helping hand was essentially understood in terms of financial aid and transfer of technology. However, the concept of capacity development brings forth a significant turn in the dialogue of development, in terms of people's participation. Before we look into the significance of this shift (discussed in the next section) let us first look at two often used terms with respect to capacity i.e., 'capacity building' and 'capacity development' in the discourse of development and see what they mean and how they are linked with each other.

The term 'capacity-building' appeared in the 1970s in the United States, in reference to the need to improve the capacity of state and local governments to implement fiscal decentralisation policies. The term witnessed an increased interest in the development terminology in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Eade, 1997), when 'capacity' became tied to terms of improvement like 'strengthening', 'enhancement' and 'development' itself (Fuduka-Parr et al. 2002; United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] 1998, 2003). A general definition states: "capacity-building is planned development of (or increase in) knowledge, output rate, management, skills, and other capabilities of an organisation through acquisition, incentives, technology, and/or training" (EPRS, 2017). In contemporary anthropological parlance, capacity is understood in terms of capabilities and potentials and the possibility of putting these capabilities and potentials into action. In their recent overview of potentiality as an anthropological keyword, Taussig et al. (2013) used the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) definition to express it as " a capacity, a possibility; an instance of the latent capacity for development of a person, thing, etc., in which the quality of having potential is embodied". Douglas-Jones and Shaffner (2017:5) further elucidates this by saying that "It provides a moment in which we might consider the relationship between a capacity that is held (in potentia) and a capacity that is expressed (in actualitas), being brought forth in action". In this context, capacity building is a term "full of hope and potential, yet also operates from perceptions of insufficiency or absence, summoned because the future it works towards is seen as more desirable than the present" (Douglas-Jones and Shaffner, 2017: 1). "The notion of change is central to many documents framing capacity-building/development concepts. It borrows from sociological ideas about the complex ways in which organisations are transformed, the multiplicity of factors affecting change, the fluid and dynamic character of the process and the importance of the affected individuals' and organisations' ownership and

leadership" (EPRS, 2017:4). As mentioned earlier, development is a process dominated by the transfer of aid thus despite the "acknowledged complexity and fluidity of the required transformative processes, donor reports on capacity development attempt to provide technical step-by-step guidance, trying to capture the essence of transformative processes and the way they can be effected and influenced. Some donors also attempt to provide measurable results indicators" (EPRS, 2017:4).

"Although capacity-building is still widely used, a new term has been coined – 'capacity development' [expressed in 2006 OECD DAC (Development Assistance Committee) paper, The Challenge of Capacity Development – Working Towards Good Practice] – and this has become the favoured choice of the development community. While 'capacity-building' suggests building something new from the ground up, according to a pre-imposed design, 'capacity development' is believed to better express an approach that builds on existing skills and knowledge, driving a dynamic and flexible process of change, borne by local actors" (EPRS, 2017:1). One often finds the words 'capacity building' and 'capacity development' being used interchangeably and both terms hold similarity in terms of their generic understanding however the terms also need to be understood in terms of their historical and genealogical progression within the discourse of development.

12.1 UNDERSTANDING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT WITHIN DEVELOPMENT

American President Harry Truman's announcement of the 'Point Four Program' (the fourth point of President Harry S. Truman's 1949 inaugural address) is often cited as the key moment in launching development as a worldwide enterprise of promoting growth and improved living conditions in the third world countries by transferring technology. Post–World War II reconstruction, decolonisation, and the onset of the Cold War were the immediate context for the rise of aid programs aimed at promoting development. The Allies produced a new global institutional framework to facilitate problem solving: the United Nations (UN), including its specialised technical assistance agencies such as the World Health Organization (WHO), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and managed economies shaped the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank Group to ensure stability and growth. As mentioned earlier the development paradigm consisted of the global historically established colonial powers taking a paternalistic approach of providing a helping hand to the less fortunate third world countries.

However, by the early 1970s, disillusionment emerged among the public, politicians, and some development practitioners with the approaches of the previous two decades. These efforts had been characterised by huge projects

and centralised planning guided by theories of evolutionary modernisation and the 'trickledown effect' or what was recognised by Allen Hoben as "the ethnocentric tech-fix orientation of the dominant development paradigm" was challenged (Hoben, 1982: 350). "In many countries, indices on the quality of life – infant mortality, life expectancy, per capita income, food production – had failed to improve or had even fallen. The gap between rich and poor, both between and within countries, was widening. In response, the World Bank and the USAID announced in 1973 their intention to direct interventions more specifically at the poor. Under its 'New Direction' guidelines, USAID required all proposed projects to undergo a social soundness analysis, identifying probable impacts on the supposed 'beneficiaries.' In essence, consideration of social variables was brought earlier into the project cycle, influencing project design and even policy. To facilitate these tasks, USAID hired anthropologists, with 50 on staff and at least 100 as consultants by 1980 (Hoben, 1982)" (Castro and Brokensha, 2015:302).

Anthropologists were pivotal in promoting social- and participatory-oriented approaches to development policy and practice. In doing so, they drew on cutting-edge knowledge, theory, and methods, demonstrating the vital link between academic and applied fields. One such example is the formulation of comprehensive policies for the resettlement of people. World Bank and other development agencies long supported projects such as dams that displaced large populations, yet they lacked guidelines for dealing with resettlement. Drawing on pioneering research by Thayer Scudder, Elizabeth Colson, and others, anthropologists at World Bank led by Michael Cernea (its founding sociologist) spearheaded during the 1980s the formulation of comprehensive policies (Castro and Brokensha, 2015). Similarly, "Both policy and practice were also addressed by the Community Forestry Unit (CFU) of Food and Agriculture Organization's (FAO) Forestry Department, which was directed by anthropologists Marilyn Hoskins and Katherine Warner from the mid-1980s to 2002. The CFU aimed to strengthen the capacity of the public, resource users, technical personnel, and policymakers to engage in participatory natural resource management by disseminating knowledge of key topics, including gender analysis, indigenous knowledge systems, common property systems, conflict analysis, and livelihoods analysis. It also generated manuals and guides for participatory planning, evaluation, and specialised tasks such as income generation projects" (Castro and Brokensha, 2015:303).

Development practice saw a shift in perspective from 1980s onwards. Agencies retained their nominal 'pro-poor' commitment, with emphasis also placed on 'sustainability' in the wake of the 1987 Brundtland Commission report, the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio. Practitioners and activists sought to connect the meaning of development to rights, human capacities, and freedom. The notion that strengthening the capacity of individuals and institutions in developing countries is crucial for the success of development

policy emerged gradually, with the theoretical debate reaching its peak between 1995 and 2005 (EPRS, 2017). “The institutional scope of development activities widened, as non governmental organisations (NGOs), indigenous peoples, social movements, and other activists increasingly appeared on the scene. Many NGOs followed the funding and pursued donor-driven agendas, but others, both international and local, pressed forward with their own concerns. The rise of Grameen Bank, a grassroots movement for local empowerment, especially focusing on women and families, through micro credit that spread worldwide demonstrated the new creative possibilities of bottom–up development (Yunus, 2007). International donors, for a variety of reasons, endorsed decentralisation, creating new political spaces for participation by communities. These trends generally fit well with the campaign by anthropologists and others within and outside international development institutions to ‘put people first’ (Castro and Brokensha, 2015:303).

Development approaches based on the notion of capacity-building were introduced to make up for perceived shortcomings in the development aid and technical assistance provided by major international donors since the 1950s. These included lack of ownership by recipients, incapacity to effect sustainable change, lack of inter-sectorial coordination, and insufficiently tailored-made approaches (EPRS, 2017). However, **capacity development did not replace aid, technical assistance or technical cooperation;** but its introduction alongside other approaches has brought about a paradigm shift for development. Capacity building emerged during a time when top-down development strategies were being dismantled, with ‘partnership’ and ‘dialogue’ promoted as a shift away from hierarchical language (Linnell, 2003). Thus, the questions it elicited – about which capacities, and whose – were imagined as part of an open conversation between those who sought to intervene and those who stood as partners or participants in such projects. Capacity building was seen to take into account paradigm shifts towards ‘local ownership’ of initiatives (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD] 1996) as well as a growing recognition of the role ‘external factors in the broader environment’ play in the ‘capacity of an individual, team, organisation or system’ (Milèn 2001: 2). Subsequently, today many policy documents recognise three levels at which capacity development operates: societal, institutional and individual. The description of these levels as per UNDPis as follows. (EPRS, 2017)

The 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness highlighted that capacity development is one of the essential preconditions for aid effectiveness: 'The capacity to plan, manage, implement, and account for results of policies and programmes, is critical for achieving development objectives – from analysis and dialogue through implementation, monitoring and evaluation'. Capacity-building is thus seen as the 'responsibility of partner countries', while donors play a supporting role. UNDP documents that “Capacity development starts from the principle that people are best empowered to realise their full

potential when the means of development are sustainable, home-grown, long-term, and generated and managed collectively by those who stand to benefit" (UNDP, 2009). Since the mid-1990s, all major multilateral and bilateral aid agencies and non- governmental development organisations have adopted capacity-building as a core element of their policies. Some definitions of what is understood by capacity and capacity development are as under.

The **enabling environment**: 'is the broad social system within which people and organisations function. It includes all the rules, laws, policies, power relations and social norms that govern civic engagement. It is the enabling environment that sets the overall scope for capacity development.'

The **organisational level**: 'refers to the internal structure, policies and procedures that determine an organisation's effectiveness. It is here that the benefits of the enabling environment are put into action and a collection of individuals come together. The better resourced and aligned these elements are, the greater the potential for growing capacity.'

The **individual level** includes 'the skills, experience and knowledge that allow each person to perform. Some of these are acquired formally, through education and training, while others come informally, through doing and observing. Access to resources and experiences that can develop individual capacity are largely shaped by the organisational and environmental factors described above, which in turn are influenced by the degree of capacity development in each individual.'

Table 12.1: Definitions of capacity and capacity development (Source: EPRS, 2017)

Organisation	Definition of capacity	Definition of capacity development
UNDP	The ability of individuals, institutions and societies to perform functions, solve problems, and set and achieve objectives in a sustainable manner.	*Capacity development*: The process through which individuals, organizations and societies obtain, strengthen and maintain the capabilities to set and achieve their own development objectives over time. *Capacity-building*: A process that supports only the initial stages of building or creating capacities and assumes that there are no existing capacities to start from. (UNDP)
OECD DAC	'capacity' is understood as the ability of people, organisations and society as a whole to manage their affairs successfully. The definition is deliberately simple. It avoids any judgement on the objectives that people choose to pursue, or what should count as success in the management of their collective efforts.	*Capacity development* is understood as the process whereby people, organisations and society as a whole unleash, strengthen, create, adapt and maintain capacity over time. The phrase capacity development is used advisedly in preference to the traditional *capacity building*. The 'building' metaphor suggests a process starting with a plain surface and involving the step-by-step erection of a new structure, based on a preconceived design. Experience suggests that capacity is not successfully enhanced in this way.
World Bank	*Capacity for development* is the availability of resources and the efficiency and effectiveness with which societies deploy those resources to identify and pursue their development goals on a sustainable basis. (World Bank, 2009)	*Capacity development (or capacity-building)* is a locally driven process of learning by leaders, coalitions and other agents of change that brings about changes in socio-political, policy-related, and organisational factors to enhance local ownership for and the effectiveness and efficiency of efforts to achieve a development goal. (World Bank, 2009)
UNECA		Capacity development is the process through which individuals, groups and organisations, and societies deploy, adapt, strengthen, and maintain the capabilities to define, plan and achieve their own development objectives on an inclusive, participatory, and sustainable basis. (UNECA website)

Thus ideologically, capacity development focuses on empowering and strengthening endogenous capabilities, making the most of local resources including people, skills, technologies, institutions, and builds on these in favour of sustainable change. It also shifted focus in terms of 'best practice' and ideas of scale up which believed in one size fits all to 'best fit' for the context, an ethnographic reality that anthropologists have always advocated. The relationship between culture, context, capacity and change is very complex in that capacity and change are embedded within context while at the same time it is the context that offers the potential levers for change. The context both impinges on and is influenced by a capacity development process (EPRS, 2017). In the next section we explore some of this complexity with reference to capacity development.

Check Your Progress

1) What is the relationship between the terms capacity building and capacity development?

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2) How is sociological/ anthropological understanding of capacity development different from that of non anthropological development practitioners?

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3) When and why did 'capacity building' emerge in the development discourse?

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4) What did the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness highlighted as a essential preconditions for aid effectiveness?

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12.2 THE COMPLEXITY OF CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT

The strength of anthropology has always been in the ability of analysts to illuminate site-specific conditions through ethnographic research (Castro and Brokensha, 2015:302). Ideally, anthropological engagement with capacity development needs to take an inclusive approach in addressing issues of power inequality in relations between rich and poor, mainstream and marginalised (countries, groups and individuals), emphasising on deep, lasting transformations through policy and institutional reforms. While capacity development does speak for a monumental shift in the development dialogue in terms of participation and ground up ownership of development programs and resulting influence on policy, it can however not do away with the donor-recipient power divide. The conundrum remains that the very idea of capacity development is within the rubric of a larger all-encompassing imagination of development. A part of the donor beneficiary divide on a global scale has been addressed by the conceptualisation that the sustainable development goals (SGDs) uniformly applicable to all countries of the world, removing the "developing" versus "developed" dichotomy. Thus, while earlier capacity development was visualised to be needed in developing countries by their recognition as stakeholders by the developed countries, the SGDs reflect on global need for capacity development. However, the donor-beneficiary dichotomy and power dynamics operates at different relative levels of global and local and are influenced by multiple factors which might render capacity development on a back foot.

Anthropologists themselves hold differential positions in their engagement with the concept of development. "Arturo Escobar (1995) used discourse analysis to expose development as a discourse and institutional practices that perpetuate domination of the Third World. He argued that anthropologists should not be involved with development agencies. In contrast, Katy Gardner and David Lewis (1996) agreed with many of the criticisms of the development industry, but reached a different conclusion: contending that the insights of discourse analysis, combined with ethnographic research, offered new possibilities for supporting effective participatory efforts. Gardner and Lewis felt that the involvement of anthropologists from the global 'South' especially offered innovative avenues for change. In some countries, such as Mexico, anthropology has a long, if contentious, involvement with development issues (Nahmad Sittón, 2011). Other countries are at a relatively early stage of building their capacity in anthropology, though applied issues still often loom large (Hill and Baba, 2006)". (Castro and Brokensha, 2015:302).

Anthropologists are increasingly seeking to make their work 'relevant' to a wider public, including the populations that they are studying (Low and Merry, 2010), however, as mentioned in the first section, there is a disparity between how anthropologists and sociologists visualise capacity building as a

transformation which is a fluid and dynamic character, with multiplicity of factors affecting the process of change. However the formal discourse of capacity development attempt to provide technical step-by-step guidance with measurable results indicators, this brings in a duality into the idea of capacity development. The duality comes from the way capacity building can be put to work as both an approach and an objective, as a set of methodologies towards a goal and itself a measurable outcome (Bolger 2000: 1). As mode and goal, what capacity building targets may be anything from 'abilities' to 'understandings, attitudes, values, relationships, behaviours, motivations, resources and conditions' (Bolger 2000: 2). Further, capacity building that locates measurable efficacy in material artefacts – latrines and weaving rooms – yet opens towards less visible capacities such as 'knowledge'. For example, the 'spiral' model of capacity building from the late 1990s, assumes that "behind every new latrine, weaving room, or irrigation canal in a village, for example, there are less visible but equally important changes in individual and group knowledge, attitudes and skills". (Robinson and Cox 1998: 127)

"We find capacities arranged by 'levels' and 'types', separated into 'functional and technical' (UNDP 2009), 'soft' elements (motivational and process) and 'hard' elements (technical) (Land 1999). From defining capacities to building them, practitioner authors offer key steps to success, from initial stakeholder engagement to end of project evaluation. For this reason, Chris Roche of Oxfam sets up capacity building as a concept to be tested (Roche 1997: v), measured against a goal, marking an alignment with policy orientations wherein capacities are 'most usefully assessed in relation to their development purpose' (Malik 2002: 27). The question of 'which capacities' are transformed into a concern about 'which ends', opening new sets of disagreements of what capacity building might ultimately be 'for'" (Douglas-Jones and Shaffner, 2017: 4). The combination of multiple dimensions, multiple levels and multiple actors broadens the scope of capacity building to the extent with its all-encompassing mandate, has been critiqued within development discourse for its vagueness: it is 'elusive' (Kaplan 2000: 517), 'ambiguous' (Black 2003: 116), 'elastic' (Lusthaus et al. 1999: 3) or worse, a 'sloppy piece of aid jargon' (Eade 2010: 204).

Thus, complexities of capacity development are manyfold. Inspite of its participatory shareholder approach, the donor-beneficiary dichotomy remains and might influence the potential of capacity development itself. Further, fluidity of transformation vs step by step structural progression brings forth the duality of capacity building in terms of its being an approach or an objective driven measurable results indicator, and brings forth disjuncture in disciplinary (anthropologists vs other development practitioners) understanding of the same phenomenon. Further, the elasticity in the very broad based multileveled and multi-layered concept of capacity building finds critique within the development discourse while concepts like the 'spiral' model of capacity building brings to light that capacity building that

locates measurable efficacy in material artefacts also bring with them latent capacity development in terms of knowledge and skills.

Check Your Progress

5) What does the 'spiral' model of capacity building assume?

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6) How can Anthropology play a role in capacity development?

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12.3 SUMMARY

The essence of capacity development lies in an attempt to produce transformation which is sustainable over time from within', through local ownership of all interventions where local groups decide on the needs and targets of capacity development, designs the processes of change and assume leadership for them. The complexity of capacity development in terms of its multiple dimensions, multiple levels and multiple actors needs a multidisciplinary approach in its understanding, where anthropology stands to play a critical role. This is especially true as anthropologists have often played the role of facilitators in synergising priorities between different stakeholders of change through participatory and community based focus, and can play a significant role in community mobilisation towards leadership and ownership. Ethnographic knowledge through anthropological research also adds to the understanding of intangible capacity development that may not be assessable through standard monitoring and evaluation indicators. Further, critical reflections of anthropological knowledge and experience, on both policy and process with respect to capacity development can contribute to generating effective policy and programmatic frameworks.

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12.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) See section 12.0
2) See section 12.1
3) See 4th paragraph of section 12.1
4) See 5th paragraph of section 12.1
5) See 4th paragraph of section 12.2.
6) See 1st paragraph of section 12.0

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To whomsoever it may concern

This is to certify that **Dr. Indrani Mukherjee, Department of Anthropology, University of Delhi** has delivered one module on "**Exploring Corporate Social Responsibility: An Indian Perspective**", which comprises of a video-based lecture of 30 minutes duration, the supportive Teaching – Learning Material and suggested readings for the national level ARPIT courses on SWAYAM platform, sponsored by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, New Delhi, and uploaded by the UGC Human Resource Development Centre (erstwhile known as Academic Staff College), Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, during 2018-19.

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Towards Anthropology of Corporate Social Responsibility in India

Rajanikant Pandey[1] and Indrani Mukherjee[2]

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the study of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) inside the discipline of Anthropology to understand its applied and practical scope for ethnographic researchers in India. The journey of business engagement with society is not new, but the surge of CSR as system of exchange has forged unforeseen kinship between corporation and community. The paper reflects upon conceptual development of CSR as well as its contextualization in anthropology by taking theoretical cue from some recent works in different social settings globally, and supplementing it with two first hand ethnographic researches in Delhi. The paper emphasizes on a critical anthropological methodology for examining CSR phenomenon and is a call for further researches to enrich the domain of 'Anthropology of CSR' in India.

INTRODUCTION

Demystifying Corporate Social Responsibility

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is essentially about how business accomplishes its relationship with society at large, and that has been an issue for as long as humans have engaged in production and trade. People have debated the nature, rights, and responsibilities of corporations for centuries. However, CSR "has become a significant industry with involvement of politicians, activists, celebrities, consultants, business schools, anthropologists, and NGOs in promoting, measuring, and managing the social responsibilities of corporations" (Welker, 2009:145) in last three decades. It has become a system of exchange between corporation and community, whereas corporates receive social license to operate in return to social development of local communities.

The modern precursors of CSR can be located into the industrial revolution and into the mid twentieth century welfare state eras of responsibilities. The debate over the relationship between business and society become stronger post industrial revolution

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The Oriental Anthropologist, Vol. 18, No. 2, 2018, Pages 223-244
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in Europe and America. Poorer living condition of working class around factories and mines provoked civil unrest in new urban centres (Blowfield and Murray, 2008). Due to, frequent violent protest against industrialization, the era of Victorian philanthropy started. This journey has culminated into full-fledged movement of CSR in recent time. "The anti-globalization street protests in late 90s in Seattle, Prague, and Genoa focusing on the actions of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO), or issues of "third world" debt, climate change and "free" trade, the power of large corporations triggered the birth of a corporate accountability movement in Europe and North America—regions that were home to most of the large corporations. The 1990s saw CSR initiatives coming largely from the North, when international trade unions, development NGOs, human rights organizations and environmental groups have all contributed to the demand for greater social responsibility" (Bendell, 2004). The developing countries like India have also seen the surge of CSR in recent decades.

Now, CSR means different things to practitioners of CSR, to researchers, to civil society groups, to the private sector or to the Government. (Blowfield, 2005). The earliest academic discourses on CSR can be traced back to the early 1930s in USA when Merrick Dodd of Harvard Law School and Adolf Berle of Columbia Law School debated the fundamental issue on the trusteeship role of corporate managers. However, the conceptualizations of CSR pertained to business responsibility; developed in the 1950s .The publication by Howard R. Bowen (1953) of his landmark book *Social Responsibilities of the Businessman* marked the beginnings of the modern period of literature on this subject. In a brilliant attempt, A.B. Carroll (1991, 1999) specified that organizations' obligations must encompass the economic, legal, ethical and discretionary expectations that society has of organizations at a given point in time.

By late 1990's the concept of CSR was progressively rationalised and became associated with broader organisational goals, reputation and stakeholder management. Corporate sustainability gained focus alongside social, ecological and economical responsibilities under the triple bottom line approach (Elkington, 1998), in which corporate performance was associated to firm's economic viability, minimisation of negative environmental impacts and action in conformity with social expectations. This was followed by the social contract theory (Donaldson and Dunfee, 1999) which propounded that the corporation is a possession of the community rather than of individuals and holds a social contract with society from which it derives its power and, therefore, serves a constellation of interests. The focus shifted from maximisation of profit to optimisation of profits. According to Fombrun et al. (2000) firms obtained benefit from CSR and disclosure because it helped firms and their employees to build community ties and become socially integrated. It not only generated reputational gains

that improved the firm's ability to attract resources, enhance performance and build a competitive advantage, but also mitigated the risk of reputational losses that result from alienating key stakeholders. By associating their brand with socially responsible activity (whether locally or internationally), companies not only appealed to a broader range of customers, but also distinguished themselves from their competitors. Empirical evidence have showed a positive relationship between CSR, company reputation index and return on equity (Karake, 1998), as well as business performance (Zairi, 2000; Zairi and Peters, 2002).

The concept of Corporate Citizenship (CC) (McIntosh et al., 2003; McIntosh and Andrej, 2001; Warhurst, 2001) was linked up with the social contract theory to show that the companies' rights and duties/obligations were compared to that of a citizens and was understood as 'the management of the totality of relationships between a company and its host communities, locally, nationally and globally' (EC Commission, 2002). This brought forth the debate and discussion on the role of private authorities in global governance, and the emergence of 'private' establishments as relocation of authority from sovereign states to an extra-territorial political space (Cutler, Haufler and Porter 1999, Hall and Biersteker 2002, Cashore and Bernstein 2004). Others attempted to define and rationalise CSR including Lockett et. al. (2006), Marrewijk (2001), Wan et. Al (2005), Dahlsrud (2008). The outcome was that the challenge for businesses is not so much to define CSR, as it is to understand how CSR is socially constructed in a specific context and how to take this into account when business strategies are developed. The responsibilities of companies in developing nations are also defined differently depending on the social – especially national – context. Wayne Visser defines CSR in developing countries 'the formal and informal ways in which business makes a contribution to improving the governance, social, ethical, labour and environmental conditions of the developing countries in which they operate, while remaining sensitive to prevailing religious, historical and cultural contexts' (Visser et. al., 2007).

The increasing recognition of the criticality social contextualization in CSR brings to the fore that studies in Corporate Social Responsibility need to be both multi-pronged and multi-cultural in character. It has urgent calling for local attention and awareness on one hand and worldwide consideration and initiative on the other. It also brings to light the centrality that the community/local holds in terms of social welfare, human rights and environmental responsibility. The discourse of development paradigm has shifted from welfare oriented approach to the right based approach, where, the question of empowerment and sustainability has acquired great attention. The business discourse on CSR and the idea of relocation of authority from sovereign states to 'private' establishments speaks of a power politics devoid of the 'public', in terms of participation and ownership, which might not be the best course of action for socially relevant

programmes. The practice of anthropology assumes significance as in-depth anthropological knowledge can help create a bridge between the culture of people, the business groups and the broader policy design. The appropriateness of anthropology as a discipline, in terms of its theoretical and methodological specialisation can be used to understand and contribute towards Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) with reference to the contextual understanding of this social phenomena influencing international and national policy design, programme strategy and community engagement.

CSR in the House of Anthropology

CSR entered the discipline of Anthropology very recently. Anthropologists directed their attention to mighty corporates and their promises of doing business in society when good and bad of corporate led neoliberal globalization started reaching to the every nooks and corner of world. Due to rise of anti-globalization movement across the developed world in 1990s, the concept of moral and ethical economy started to become dominant theme in economic discourses defining market-community engagements. Concepts like moral, humane, compassionate, green and ethical capitalism have emerged as buzzwords to reflect upon corporates intention to resolve social and environmental mess created in the "late-industrial" (Fortune, 2012; 2014) world. Anthropology could not remain negligent to these contradictory economic ideas camouflaging and reshaping the scholarly understanding of global capitalism. Primarily the economic anthropologist inspired by globalization theories took up the cause of investigating the moral side of neoliberal corporate capitalism. Concept of CSR, entering in the anthropology at this juncture, has carved promising space for interesting ethnographic studies of business corporations in last fifteen years or so.

John Sharp (2006) describing the role of CSR in development suggested that anthropology is best suited to explore the multiple dimensions of CSR. He rightly mentioned that ethnographic methods can investigate not only the "purported aims and objectives of particular interventions but also the ideologies underlying these interventions" and "the discourses used to sell them to a range of 'stakeholders', and the power dynamics at all levels" (Sharp, 2006,p.213). He suggests that a critical anthropological approach would take CSR discourse more seriously, highlighting "difference between intentions and effects in any activities as complex as those associated with CSR" (Sharp, 2006, p. 215).

Continuing in similar track, Ravi Raman (2007) critiqued CSR discourse and practice, and argued that "CSR conceals its own invention and intentions" and "is found to be problematic as it is yet another legitimating discursive domain that serves only the colonization process of corporate, oligarchic power structures" (Raman, 2007, p. 103).

Borrowing from Habermass, he emphasized that CSR is "an inevitable culmination of capitalist transition where transnational corporations have come to colonize our life-world and occupy a central position in the governance of the nation-state" (Raman, 2007, p. 103). He compares CSR with a set of hegemonic ideology which mystifies the corporate activities and helps in exercising legitimate power over society. It pacifies the voices of protest and counters them through equally strong rhetorical pitch of CSR. In turn it has institutionalizing effect like any other subject making processes.

Other anthropologists like Jamie Cross and Alice Street (2009) advocated 'bottom of pyramid' argument (Prahalad, 2006) as a framework for negotiating business contribution to society. Bengi Ertuna (2013) deploys an economic anthropology model of 'community and market' realm developed by Gudeman (2001) to discuss the CSR in anthropology. Smith and Helfgott (2010) examine the mining industry in order to explore the contradiction of CSR in relation to employer's financial responsibility towards the workforce and the simultaneous pressure to demonstrate social responsibility. The anthropological interest on corporate role in society and culture has also been highlighted in *Annual Review* article on 'ethnography of corporation' (Urban and Koh, 2013) which describes the phenomena of CSR within external impact of corporations.

There are even dedicated special editions of journals and book length publications which pave the way for establishing the field of CSR in mainstream anthropology. Mainstream Journal *'Research in Economic Anthropology* came out with a dedicated volume titled *Hidden Hands in the Market: Ethnographies of Fair Trade, Ethical Consumption and Corporate Social Responsibility* (De Neveetal., 2008). CSR emerged as major theme along with fair trade and ethical consumption, covering range of industries across the world, like ecotourism in Jamaica (Carrier); fair-trade in Costa Rica (Luetchford), Ghana (Berlan), and Kenya (Dolan); ethical consumption in Hungary (Dombos); ethical labour relations in garment factories in South India (De Neve), and Trinidad (Prentice); and the corporate social investment program of a mining company operating in South Africa (Rajak). Soon after, in 2009 an edited book by Katherine E. Browne and Barbara Lynne Milgram titled *Economics and Morality: Anthropological Approaches* was published. This book includes paper on the ethical dilemmas of a dairy company in Norway (Garsten & Hernes); ethical finance as exemplified by 'socially responsible investment' in the United States and Islamic finance in Malaysia (Pitluck); and moral dimension of radioactive waste disposal in Texas (Werner). Many of the overlapping contributions in these two volumes, like Dolan on fair trade of flowers from Kenya, Rajak on CSR in a mining company in South Africa and Prentice on a garment factory in Trinidad reinstate their arguments and establish them as pioneers of 'Anthropology of CSR'. *Dialectical Anthropology* (Benson and Kirsch, 2010) dedicated a special volume titled "corporate oxymoron" to put a critical lens on corporations. In this volume CSR has been criticized

as concealing device to hide the harm caused to people and environment. The hidden agenda and dialectic nature of neo-liberal capitalism has been underlined. Most of the contributors are critical to a variety of corporations like cigarette (Benson), pharmaceuticals (Petryna), oil (Swayer), chemical (Fortune) and mining (Kirsch).The *Focaal—Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology* published a dedicated volume on "corporate ethicizing" in 2011. The collected papers with few additions have come up as book *The Anthropology of Corporate Social Responsibility* (2016). A volume "corporate personhood" published by *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review* (Conley and Richland, 2014) debates the legal idea of corporate as free person but with limited responsibilities towards human rights. Another edition "corporate lives" in *Current Anthropology* (Partridge et al., 2011) highlights the increasing effects of corporation in our daily lives, tracking anthropological engagements with responsible mining, human rights, shareholder activism etc.

Most of the externalities of corporates are destructive to the natural environment. The questioning of industrial disruption of nature is not completely unknown to anthropology; the recent focus upon corporate claims to environmental conservation (Hardin, 2011) and corporate environmentalism (Fortune, 2009) has fused the study of CSR in relation to environmental responsibilities. Most of the indigenous communities studied by anthropologists are ecologically dependent communities and bear the brunt of industrial impact of ecological changes. For example, extractive industry is widely regarded as one of the most environmentally and socially disruptive activities (Jenkins and Yakovleva, 2006) impacting indigenous communities all over the world. Thus anthropologists have given attention to extractive industries because of specific geographical overlap of mining industries with tribal or indigenous people's homeland. Ethnographies of mining are focused on violation of indigenous rights to land, forest and local environment have given impetus to scrutinize the role of corporations. New ethnographies of extraction (Rajak, 2011; Kirsch, 2014; Welker, 2014; Golub 2014; Smith 2014; Li 2015; Jacka 2015; O'Faircheliagh 2015; Sawyer 2004; Shever 2012) bring the issues of corporate social and environmental responsibility promptly to the fore. Moreover, the role of corporates in environmental conservation has been blatantly questioned by civil society and anthropologist alike (Hardin, 2011). Kim Fortune (2009) has studied corporate environmentalism after an industrial disaster like 'Bhopal gas tragedy' and has questioned the rhetoric of environmentalism used by corporates to safeguard itself from critics like civil society, local governments and judiciary.

These successive writings and book length publications in last few years clearly depict the surge in anthropological interest in the phenomena called CSR. Globally anthropologists have uncovered the hidden dimension of CSR through dedicated

ethnographic engagements across industries. The CSR is now of great interest to anthropology because in principal it is directed towards bringing change in human situation. Most of the CSR policies are directed towards development need of communities and mitigating environmental issues. Thirdly the ethical conducts of corporation are important for addressing human rights abuse like issues of labour rights, indigenous rights, gender and child rights etc. Corporates are now prominent players in these domains and they are being investigated by anthropologists all over the world. Anthropologists in India also need to follow the path and involve with pathologies of new moral capitalism in late modern times. The corporates are playing proactive role in defining the social contour of our country and it is high time to engage ethnographically and put the corporate social responsibility practices in India under scrutiny.

Corporate Social Responsibility in India

Indian businesses historically depict strong tradition of making contributions towards society. The concepts of community food, giving alms to the poor and destitute, making offerings in the temple, serving the underprivileged and feeding orphans on their own birthdays, keeping some part of their monthly income aside for donations or in the name of the almighty, etc. are an indication of rich and socially responsible behaviour of every Indian. The business community coming chiefly from Vaishva Varna occupied a significant place in philanthropic activities. They provided relief in times of crisis such as famines or epidemics, throwing open warehouses of food and treasure chests. Merchants built and supported temples, pilgrim rest houses, night shelters, bathing platforms, water tanks, wells and animal refuges, and provided drinking water facilities. They donated to education in traditional schools and gave money for dowries for poor girls (Sundar, 2000).

Historically, the four phases of CSR in India has been identified by scholars (Sundar, 2000; Arora and Puranik, 2004). These phases parallel India's historical development and resulted in different nature of business contribution to societies (Chahoud, 2007). From today's point of view these four phases could be extended by adding the fifth and present phase of 2% mandatory CSR.

- Pure philanthropy and charity during industrialization
- CSR as social development during the independence struggle
- CSR under the "mixed economy" paradigm
- CSR in a globalized world
- CSR in mandatory 2 % phase

The first phase of CSR is predominantly determined by religion, family tradition, and industrialization. Traditionally India's business class like Parsis, Marwaris, Gujaratis and the Chettiars, have established a lead not only in business but also in philanthropy (Sundar, 2000). There were elements of both charity and philanthropy in business giving (Arora and Puranik, 2004). The second phase of Indian CSR (1914-1960) was dominated by Gandhi's theory of trusteeship, the aim of which was to consolidate and amplify social development. The third phase of CSR from 1960 to 1980 coincided with a period of economic and political troubles, in which business operations were constrained. Government's socialist agenda (Sundar, 2000) lead to "mixed economy," dominance of PSUs and strict legislation on labour and environmental standards, and strict legal and public regulation of business activities. In the 1980s, the Fourth phase of the business/ society interface began, characterized by a dynamic corporate sector on the one hand and a variety of approaches to social development on the other (Sundar, 2000). Mital (1988), in his book *Social Responsibilities of Business: Concepts, Areas and Progress*-one of the earliest books on CSR in India describes the social initiatives of several companies and set the agenda for academic discussion on this issue.

India has meanwhile become an important economic and political actor in the process of globalization. With more transnational companies resorting to global sourcing, India has become an attractive production and manufacturing site for the world. As western consumer markets are becoming more responsive to labour and environmental standards in developing countries, Indian companies producing for the global market need to comply with international standards. This new situation has also affected the Indian CSR agenda and practices. This reality reflects in the politico-administrative consciousness as well, with the Ministry of Corporate Affairs releasing the Corporate Social Responsibility Voluntary Guideline in 2009 and 2011 until the Companies Act, 2013 receiving the assent of the President on the 29th August, 2013, to be enacted by Parliament in the Sixty-fourth Year of the Republic of India. This can be considered the beginning of contemporary phase in Indian CSR.

CSR is governed by clause 135 of the Companies Act, 2013.The CSR provisions within the Act is applicable to companies with an annual turnover of 1,000 crore INR and more, or a net worth of 500 crore INR and more, or a net profit of five crore INR and more. The new rules, applicable from the fiscal year 2014-15 require companies to set-up a CSR committee consisting of their board members, including at least one independent director. The Act encourages companies to spend at least 2% of their average net profit in the previous three years on CSR activities. Only CSR activities undertaken in India will be taken into consideration, as profits are to be calculated excluding profits arising from branches outside India. Activities meant exclusively for employees and their families will not qualify. Surplus arising out of CSR activities will

have to be reinvested into CSR initiatives, and this will be over and above the 2% figure. A CSR committee will be responsible for preparing a detailed plan on CSR activities, including the expenditure, the type of activities, roles and responsibilities of various stakeholders and a monitoring mechanism for such activities.

Companies may implement these activities taking into account the local conditions. The Act lists out a set of activities eligible under CSR Schedule VII of the Act to include: (i) eradicating extreme hunger and poverty; (ii) promotion of education; (iii) promoting gender equality and empowering women; (iv) reducing child mortality and improving maternal health; (v) combating human immunodeficiency virus, acquired immune deficiency syndrome, malaria and other diseases; (vi) ensuring environmental sustainability; (vii) employment enhancing vocational skills; (viii) social business projects; (ix) contribution to the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund or any other fund set up by the Central Government or the State Governments for socio-economic development and relief and funds for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, other backward classes, minorities and women; and (x) such other matters as may be prescribed.

The company can implement its CSR activities directly on its own, through its own non-profit foundation set-up so as to facilitate this initiative, through independently registered non-profit organisations that have a record of at least three years in similar such related activities, collaborating or pooling their resources with other companies.

Annual CSR Tracker 2017 by CII (Confederation of Indian Industry) provides an analysis of Financial Year 2016 based on 1,270 companies which collectively spent Rs 8,185 crore, which is 27% more than spend of Rs 6,400 crore in FY15. This spend is 92% of the required CSR budget of Rs 8,900 crore, using two percent of average net profits of three financial years. The number of companies spending CSR budgets exclusively through corporate foundations increased to 72 from 60 in FY15. The number of companies exclusively spending money directly marginally increased to 233 from 227, whereas that spending money exclusively through implementing agencies remained stable at 249 as compared to 251 in FY15. This tends to suggest that companies are building their own capacities for implementation. Health and sanitation, education and skill development, and rural development are the top three developmental areas for spends. The contemporary phase of CSR has thus given great impetus for Indian companies to take up the CSR work. Most of corporates are now devising mechanisms to cater the need of society and local environment. Corporates are opening dedicated CSR departments and recruiting CSR managers from social science disciplines to implement CSR programmes. This has opened the gate for Indian anthropologist to look into this phenomenon of CSR as potential site of inquiry for applied researches.

Ethnography of CSR in India

In India, anthropology and its rich tradition of ethnographic writing have always influenced policy issues adding to the applied scope of discipline. The anthropologists contributed in formulation of tribal policy for the country. This engagement of anthropologist in policy and practices is highly desirable in coming future. Several multinational companies are doing business in India and at the same time native industries are showing interest in going global. This also involve following global trends and going beyond it in advancing the interest of more than billion people of this developing country.

Wayne Visser (2008) details two key differences in how CSR is practiced in the developing world versus the developed world. Firstly, in the former, CSR tends to be even less formalized and institutionalized in terms of benchmarks commonly used (and hence studied) in industrialized countries. Secondly, making an economic contribution through CSR is seen as the most effective and important way for businesses to make an impact on developing countries, while CSR in developed countries mostly focuses on businesses' ethical and legal responsibilities. As is evident for the discussions above CSR in India has always been linked with the idea of social welfare and development. Yet, it is the only country now with a legislated CSR framework in place. While it has indeed been critiqued that the CSR is being considered based on the profit that is made by the company, rather than looking at how these profits are made, it cannot be negated that given the enormous wealth and power of corporations, their involvement in development is the most promising solution to have an effect in the lives of millions who live in severe poverty. The corporates are playing proactive role in defining the social contour of country. While the key focus is still in terms of corporate involvement and investment there is also an ever-increasing need of the qualitative softer aspects of CSR. Anthropologists in India also need to inquire the policy and practices around new idioms of 'moral capitalism' being championed through CSR along with existing focus on pathologies of such capitalism in late modern times. CSR in India is in a dynamic phase where one needs to look at corporates social investment critically. It is high time to engage ethnographically and put the corporate social responsibility practices under ethnographic scrutiny.

The issues of business ethics, corporate philanthropy and business donation have reflected in few sociological literatures (Gupta, 2006) providing direction for the ethnographic investigation of CSR in India. There is new interest in CSR visible in the Department of Anthropology, University of Delhi. Two firsthand researches detailed in this paper, have been pursued for higher research degrees. The focuses of both the researches are on CSR programmes being implemented in the field, and the effort remains to contextualize it in the larger milieu of corporate community interactions.

Microsoft in Delhi Slums

This study was conducted on Microsoft India and its CSR project in Delhi to explore the possibility of anthropological study of CSR in Indian Context (Pandey, 2010). It endeavoured to understand the contribution of corporate citizenship or CSR programmes in achieving the goal of development with specific reference to project Jyoti and its implementation strategy in rural pockets of Delhi. Project Jyoti was launched under Microsoft's Unlimited Potential initiative in 2004 to promote computer literacy in India. Under this project, a Community Technology Learning Centre (CTLC) is set up at any convenient location in a semi urban or rural area. Community-based Technology Learning Center (CTLC) is a free or low-cost, friendly place. It could be inside a school, a panchayat office or a community building. It is equipped with well-maintained, reliable computer equipment and connectivity. Here the community is encouraged to learn about computers, use the Internet, explore new careers, further their education, participate in community activities and develop technology skills. The Community Technology Learning Centres (CTLCs) act as a hub for providing training and facilitating greater interaction among underserved communities. A typical CTLCs will have around 5-15 Personal Computers depending on the size of the community, one or two IT instructor and a CTLC manager.

Microsoft is running Project Jyoti in Delhi with the help of NGO Udayan Care since February 2006. Udayan Care is a south Delhi based NGO which seeks to improve quality of life for disadvantaged people in India, especially women and children, through interventions such as the establishment of children's homes and skill development programs. Since February 2006, with the help of a Microsoft Unlimited Potential grant, Udayan Care has set up six CTLCs in slum areas in and around Delhi. One CTLC was running in Greater Noida under Computer Training and Learning through Centre for Rehabilitation, Education & Thought Enrichment (C.R.E.A.T.E) programme. With the help of Microsoft, four new CTLCS were started in 2006 and two in 2007. Two CTLCs, one at Devli Village and Other at Uttam Nagar got closed after successfully running for one year. These centres were functioning at the time of the ethnographic study, across Delhi and NCR.

So far, 3838 trainees (2416 males, 1422 females) have been enrolled since inception, at these seven centres, including Greater Noida CTLC which is working since 2004. Also, the project lays great importance on women participation in learning and job pursuits and so, the figures are quite encouraging. Through the years 2006-09, the average percentage ratio of male is to female enrolled has been 65:35, while the placement scenario is very encouraging when the corresponding ratios of placements of women are analyzed. 45% women bagged placements; many of these have hitherto been home makers; some exemplary cases recorded trainees who have crossed emolument packages

of above Rs.1.2 lakhs per annum. There is an active placement cell which facilitates career counseling and ensures job placements for all certified trainees.

The successful students are guided for resume development and for getting themselves registered with placement portals like Naukri.com and Monster.com. CTLCs are also exploring the prospect of getting the dedicated trainees absorbed at corporate organizations like Hero Honda. An alumni cell is also planned in the future so that the successful candidates are showcased and serve as a constant source of inspiration for the rest. The CTLCs are now encouraging students to register themselves for long-term courses like one-year Advance Diploma in Computer Applications (A.D.C.A.), the prospect of getting jobs is better, on pursuing these. This is also to aim at better revenue generation at centers. The major issue at NGO level is financial. Microsoft helped them for establishing the centre by monetary grants, for the purchasing of computers, chairs and renting the building. Now they need to pay the electricity bills, monthly rent of premises and teachers salary. The income at CTLCs is little and they need extra fund to run the CTLCs properly. They also engaged some other trusts to run the CTLCs like Kishwarna Charitable Trust and Raman Kant Manjul foundations but needs are higher compared to what they can provide. They are also interested in opening more centres in the semi- urban and some areas of Delhi but because of lack of resources and funding they are focusing only on existing CTLCs. Ethnographic study of Microsoft's Project Jyoti in Delhi, clearly depicts that CSR projects are uplifting the people and making them empowered to live a better skilled, employable, and empowered life.

The example of Microsoft CSR project is based upon a business-NGO partnership where traditional NGOs are instrumental in inquiring the implementation part of CSR. The role of business organization has been limited to being a donor agency. This has been major critique of present anthropological study. It was recommended through this study that corporates should depict and channelize more proactive role in implementing CSR projects for better outcome at society level. The company must take keen interest in employability of trainees for sustainable impact of CSR projects. This has been demonstrated by those companies deploying their own management resources to achieve the vision of CSR. While Microsoft implements its CSR programme through many independently registered non-profit organisations collaborating or pooling their resources with other companies or organisations, the following ethnographic inquiry of Apollonian Rubber is example where corporate implements such programme through its own dedicated CSR arm, a non-profit foundation.

HIV and Apollonian Rubber

The inquiry of Apollonian Rubber as site of CSR project was conducted in year 2010-15 for doctoral degree (Mukherjee, 2015). Apollonian Rubber is unique in its status as a

home-grown (India based) multinational. It has extended its business in two other countries in terms of factory sites and markets its products in over 70 countries. In its overall CSR approach Apollonian Rubber caters to multiple stake holders in which it satisfies the macro socio-political environment and is in line with the Millennium Development Goals focusing on disease control (HIV/TB and Malaria), education and environmental stability. It is in tune with the CSR norms of all the three countries in which it has its factory site, namely India, South Africa and Netherlands. All CSR programmes are launched through Apollonian Rubber Foundation which is dedicated for the cause of social responsibility. In tune with the right based approach Apollonian Rubber has been reporting its CSR efforts in its annual reports for several years now. It has also been publishing interim reports specific to its CSR efforts, but in 2011, the company published its 1st Sustainability Report as per Global Reporting Initiative Version 3 in line with internationally schematized process of accountability and transparency.

Apollonian Rubbers embarked upon its involvement with HIV/AIDS in the year 2000 when the company, in partnership with DIFD, initiated a pilot community program predicated on awareness, education, prevention, and treatment of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) among truckers, in the form of a Health Care Clinic (ARHCC) at Delhi Transport Nagar, Asia's biggest transport township near New Delhi. The project which was then an initiative of the Dealer and Consumer Welfare Trust was later handed over and is now formally managed as a full-fledged programme by Apollonian Rubbers CSR wing, Apollonian Rubber Foundation, established in 2008. It subsequently expanded its initiative to other stakeholders as well. HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention has today become the biggest and most comprehensive initiative under company's CSR programme.

In its HIV focus, where most organisations are predicted to begin with a Work Place (WPI) focused initiative, Apollonian Rubber started with an initiative among its consumers (truckers- truck drivers and cleaners) and has moved inwards to form a WPI followed by HIV/AIDS related work place policy, for a discrimination free work environment. The HIV project was then extended to cover its other stake holders, the supply chain and the community at their factory sites. Apollonian Rubber's HIV/AIDS-STI management programme for truckers has seen a pan India scale up and various effective partnerships with Indian State AIDS control societies, international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), Community based organizations (CBOs) and other corporate partners. Apollonian Rubber has worked towards optimising the relation with these associations and has already established 20 Health Care Centres (HCCs) at different parts of India. It considers the Health Care Centre at the Delhi Transport Nagar as its model Centre and it is accepted in the field that its efforts have led to improved awareness levels among the truckers.

In order to understand the organisations impetus towards CSR, the research sought to study the programme where it all began i.e. the Healthcare Clinic at the Delhi Transport Nagar and while the focus remained on the programme itself, the research tried to understand it in the context of the larger social milieu in which it operated i.e. the Delhi Transport Nagar.

The Delhi Transport Nagar (DTN) as an ethnographic site is as unconventional (in terms of a classic anthropological site) as it is challenging. Covering an area of about 77-80 acre, it is a business hub consisting of more than 290 transporters and has over 70,000 trucks are parked at DTN at any given point in time with an average of 20,000 trucks drive in and out of DTN every day ensuring that the site remains in a constant state of flux. It is of immense relevance for HIV/AIDS with reference to key populations, namely the migratory population and the truckers.

The research at hand was propelled by the need to understand how the society, particularly the beneficiaries/recipients of the social intervention were receiving the initiative. Did the community being influenced actually see value in the efforts being directed their way? And how the corporates effort was perceived by the community with which they interact through their social project. The study proceeded through a multi-sited ethnography with two key areas of focus, namely the corporate Apollonian Rubber and the Delhi Transport Nagar. It used methodological plurality, which combined qualitative insights with quantitative ones to understand the confluence of CSR (with respect to Apollonian Rubber), the HIV/AIDS (national level) targeted intervention for truckers, the trucker's life style and the DTN as a geographical and social space.

It was found that the corporate has already engaged in the field for over a decade and a half, yet its work is far from done. Does this mean that it has been ineffective in the field? It is important to realize that social intervention and behaviour change communication is a time consuming process, in addition to which the truckers are a highly revolving population, with a number of drivers dropping out and newer drivers and cleaners being inducted. The programme has come a long way since its conception in terms of gaining acceptance and becoming commonplace in the DTN, yet it needs a new wave of thrust and strategizing to revitalise itself in a rather difficult social settings. With the loss of international funding and motivation, the focus on HIV is slowly loosing spotlight. Where Apollonian Rubber has over the years showcased its HIV/AIDS initiative as its major CSR initiative, the 2012-13 report, it has relegated the programme to just one third of its report space. While it is heartening to know that the Corporate might be increasing its sphere of influence to other social and environmental issues, one can only hope that it is not relegating the HIV programme to a back seat, especially at

a time when it needs an immense amount of renewed focus. Further, the corporate has insurmountable experience and knowledge with reference to CSR and can provide vision and guidance to other corporates who are still in the introductory phase of CSR, as well as serve as a peer reference and peer pressure for the cause of HIV.

Both the researches point towards the differential focus, method of involvement and causes of commitment, however both organisations have managed to influence the society in a positive way. The emerging role of corporations in society is more active because of defined CSR programmes. The ethnographic studies have dwelled into this new 'business-society kinship' to understand the nuances of such ties in Indian society.

CONCLUSION

Conceptual and methodological complexity involved with any universal phenomena like CSR has made cross-cultural, empirical studies rather difficult to conduct. There is an overt academic call for a greater diversity of methods to capture the range of interests in the CSR field (Gephart, 1991). CSR has now established as an interdisciplinary field of inquiry in which anthropologist geared with ethnographic tools are adept of understanding the critical dimensions of CSR (Sharp, 2006; Rajak, 2011).

Anthropology of CSR forms a vibrant area of enquiry as a complex phenomenon involving both global and local influences through and with multiple actors. Research has demonstrated that different cultures emphasize different aspects of CSR (Environics, 2000), and therefore are likely to have varying expectations of the same corporation. Arthaud-Day (2005) proposes a typology that is tri-dimensional in nature, incorporating three key aspects of CSR in an international context:

- Strategic orientation- whether an MNC approaches business and therefore CSR from a global, multinational, "international," or transnational framework
- Content domain focusing attention on human rights, labour, and the environment as three areas dominating current international CSR literature
- Perspective whether MNC activities are evaluated on an ideological (what the firm's managers think it should be doing), operational (what the firm is actually doing), or societal (what external stakeholders expect or perceive the firm to be doing) basis.

While the tri-dimensional model looks comprehensive, one has to realize that topic of local itself branches out into a multilayered panorama. The operational aspects of the corporate includes a myriad of areas of enquiry including employee volunteerism and philanthropy, corporate governance, workplace issues and education and training,

economic impact of business operations, health and safety, relationship with government agencies, supplier and customer relations, environmental and social reporting, transparency and communication and so on. The content domain which is so neatly grouped into three topics subsequently branch off into various areas of concern for for example environmental responsibility branches off into issues of pollution abatement, natural resource appropriation, issue of land water and forest, environmental conservation and restoration and so forth. Further, none of these aspects of CSR work in isolation but as a kaleidoscopic design of permutation and combinations. As is evident in case of Apollonian Rubber, the alignment of the Corporate towards the HIV initiative was in line with the millennium development goal, and it tapped into the international social consciousness of the need for prevention and control of HIV/AIDS. It partnered with international and national organisations in fund sharing, and the sharing of expertise and responsibilities. The corporate was also influenced by the fact that it operated in two regions (namely India and Africa) that had a predicted possibility of HIV/AIDS growing into an endemic at that point of time. This was also critical as the corporate was at that time looking towards setting up industry in Africa. The corporate also aligned itself to the National AIDS control Programme engaging with a social group which was recognised as a group in need for targeted intervention as a bridge group in the spread of the HIV virus. The corporate aligned its programme towards tucker drivers and cleaners, a social group that it recognised as its consumer and a key stakeholder in the transport industry (as consumers of the corporate). It is significant to note that the company started its work in CSR as well as HIV/AIDS when both the ideas were still at a nascent stage in the country.

The corporate in question certainly ensured that its CSR initiatives considered the broader socio-political environment at both the national and international level; however it did not consider the sentiments at the microcosmic level. The programme in question was top down, as the community felt stigmatized for the recognition as a group for spreading HIV, thus the programme did not find acceptance (at the ground level) for a long time and it was through relentless endurance that the corporate has continued and expanded its work in the area. Though in this case the Corporate stands to benefit at an ideological ground, because it is looking towards the benefit of the social group in the long run, however the subaltern voice is often lost in the politics of power. Today, the beneficiary community of CSR often expresses a dispersed understanding of the concept. The expected right based approach as envisioned for and from the local is missing, while there is an unstated divide between we and them, and an acceptance that the projects are a part of some kind of financial justification. The corporate intervention of over 15 years shows a move from the feeling of stigmatization of the local community to a phase of acceptance and increased knowledge but the community still grapples with behaviour change with regards to

sexual and social practices, and where health concerns are still low on priority. Further, the HIV initiatives engage local peer educators and outreach workers from within the DTN, creating an upward social mobility which clashes with the traditional social structure leading to a flux in the society. This is also evident from the Microsoft case. While members of the community are trained in commuter education, different students go on to earn different financial emolument. An understanding of how this affects the social space is imperative to understand the overall benefit of the programme.

In case of project Jyoti, Microsoft helps in establishing the center by monetary grants, for the purchasing of computers, chairs and renting the building. Sharp, 2006 points out that in case of concrete CSR projects (e.g., the building of a school or hospital), the relationship between the corporation as an agent of development, and those identified as recipients of development, is essentially a quasi-contractual one. In case of Microsoft the relation with the community becomes significant as it works with a local NGO. The partnership through which the corporate works brings in a local level expertise and understanding however, it also brings in the politics of funds where the NGO has to work in line with the expectations of all its funding agencies as well as constantly search for funds in order to keep the project running. Thus, while partnerships certainly bring in an advantage in a social programme, there constant shift in partnerships which is both a challenge and an advantage in optimizing relationships, and makes for an interesting area of study.

Understanding CSR works at different levels consisting of a range of enquiries that include the conceptualizing and interpretation of CSR by different actors, to partnerships and their dynamics, the areas of concern for CSR and the framing of related programmes, the process of implementation, the acceptance, assimilation and interpretation of CSR by the beneficiary community and the resulting effect. Anthropologists have largely provided theoretical and policy studies of grassroots development projects, however their methodological propensity of holistic insight and in-depth studies makes them the right candidate for research in the area of CSR. This is usually easier said than done, as the anthropologists are right now in the position of the 'other', where corporates are sceptical of the intrusive nature of the discipline. Further, there is usually a communication gap between the two as the corporates begin with trying to understand the outcome of the research and how it will benefit them and the anthropologists always remains ethically conscious of promising an outcome before conducting the research. This also echoes in the power dynamics between the corporate and the anthropologist, where the corporate wants to retain all rights over public communication related to its activities. It is indeed necessary for the anthropologist to find common grounds of communication with the corporate.

Anthropology is in a unique position in the arena of CSR were it moves between its classical ethnographic training of an ethno-specific field-site to explorations at the level of different philosophies, disciplines, discourses, ethnographic sites; constantly debating with the idea of who constitutes the 'other'; and zooming in and out of the relative scope of global and local. The paper seeks to draw attention to, and is call for anthropologist to examine the CSR practices in India. The road might be less travelled, unconventional and difficult, but it is indeed of extreme significance in today's day and age.

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Factors Affecting the Utilization of Maternal Health Care Services among Bhunjia tribe of Chhattisgarh (India)

Satyajeet Singh Kosariya, Moyna Chakravarty and Neerja Sen

ABSTRACT

Antenatal and delivery care are two essential components for maternal health care. The place of residence and ethnicity of any population are major factors which play important role in utilization of health care system during pregnancy and delivery. In tribal areas, the maternal health status is influenced by several factors like early marriages, malnutrition, illiteracy, ignorance and lack of health services, unavailability of transport facilities, female autonomy, ethnicity and place of residence. One of the most important reasons for poor maternal health status is non-acceptance or non-utilization of antenatal and delivery care services. The present paper tries to determine the factors for non-utilization of antenatal and institutional delivery care services with the help of a population based cross-sectional study. For this study quantitative as well as descriptive approach were used and an attempt was made to analyze the availability of health facilities and infrastructure, distance of residence from district headquarter and ethnicity factors affecting the utilization of antenatal and delivery care services among Bhunjia tribe of Chhattisgarh. The results of the present study revealed that utilization of antenatal care was significantly associated with distance of village from district headquarter, ethnicity of Bhunjia tribe, approachable road, and health centre availability in Bhunjia villages. Availability of Mahtari Express and distance of village from district headquarter were also directly associated with utilization of institutional delivery.

INTRODUCTION

Antenatal care (ANC) refers to pregnancy-related health care, which is usually provided by a doctor or another health professional. Ideally, antenatal care should monitor a pregnancy for signs of complications, detect and treat pre-existing and concurrent problems of pregnancy, and provide advice and counselling on preventive care, diet during pregnancy, delivery care, postnatal care, and related issues. In India, the Reproductive and Child Health programmes aim at providing at least three antenatal check-ups which should include a weight and blood pressure check, abdominal

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The Oriental Anthropologist, Vol. 18, No. 2, 2018, Pages 245-253
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Financial assistance from University of Delhi is greatly acknowledged. Sincere vote of thanks to the people of Allahabad for extending their cooperation for the collection of research data and information.

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7

New Realms of Anthropological Exploration

Methodological Reflections from the 'Field', Exploring Corporate Social Research and HIV/AIDS

Indrani Mukherjee

Anthropology has a critical role to play in today's developmental arena. In the age of globalization and multi-nationals, there is an urgent calling for local attention and awareness on the one hand and worldwide consideration and initiative on the other. The practice of anthropology assumes significance as in-depth anthropological knowledge can help create a bridge between the culture of people, the business groups and the broader policy design. However, the intricacies of incorporating these matrices at the realm of field research throws up unique challenges of their own. This paper seeks to explore some of these challenges in a way that they themselves become insightful experiential learning. This paper is based on a research which considers a confluence between CSR and HIV/AIDS. However, the main focus of the paper remains at the ground reality of fieldwork, concentrating on choices, strategizing, and self-realignment that a researcher makes, at the level of everyday experiences, in this meandering path.

The only thing that one can invariably expect in an anthropological fieldwork is the unexpected, and though this remains one of the crucial attractions of the discipline itself. One can't deny the fact that it presents the researcher with constant challenges in his/her everyday experiences that have to be worked through and at times around to achieve the research objectives. The research experience being discussed in this paper is in the area of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and HIV/AIDS. The research in question consists of an experience of over five years and cannot be capsuled

into a paper. Thus, a few experiences of the field have been selected to elucidate interactions with the corporate, the understanding of a geographical space with an extremely fluid population and a snippet form a gendered experience as a researcher. As the paper is a compilation of everyday field experiences, it runs in parts as a narrative and is captured in the voice of a first person. However, the main stay of the paper is to understand how the delicate balance between a research and researcher is a negotiation which not only dwells into new realms of anthropological exploration in terms of research concerns, but also in terms of how the research progresses.

The business world has devoted an extraordinary amount of attention to the concept of 'Corporate Social Responsibility' (Conley and Williams, 2008), and India has been active in the conceptualization of CSR since 2009 and has already mandated it under the Companies Act 2013. The National AIDS Control Programme has been active in the country since 1994 and has translated into four different programmatic interventions. In understanding of the confluence between the two social phenomena, the research looked at a corporate's CSR initiative in the area of HIV. Sharp (2006) says, 'A combination of discourse analysis, "multisited ethnography" and participant observation, can explore CSR from a variety of perspectives, leading to a more critical understanding of this trend'. In terms of my fieldwork this translated into three different aspects:

1. To understand the corporate concerned and its Corporate Social Responsibility initiatives, with specific focus on HIV/AIDS and especially with reference to its model initiative that was started in the year 2000. The model initiative consists of a Health Care Centre (HCC) responsible for HIV/AIDS prevention and management.
2. To understand the geographical interphase between the corporate and the implementation of its model HIV/AIDS initiative, which is at Delhi Transport Nagar.
3. To understand the social interphase between the corporate and its HIV/AIDS initiative, the trucker's population, which has been referred to as the 'target population' in the national HIV/AIDS programmatic parlance, and as 'consumers' or 'stakeholders' in corporate linguistics.

The Corporate Experience

In the nascent stages of my research I had planned to study not just the CSR initiative of my interest but also the corporate under consideration as an ethnographic site. I communicated with the organization for over three months but they refused to entertain me as they said that I did not have anything beneficial to offer to the organization. My communication consisted of emails as well as telephonic conversations with the Group Manager, Corporate Social Responsibility (GM-CSR). These were cold calls as I did not have a contact within the organization, or a reference/recommendation from any individual associated with the business. For this, I must admit that the individual in question was quite accommodating.

The Power Dynamics

On seeing my interest in the research pursuit, and the background information on the organization I had already collected, she forwarded my case to the Head of CSR as well as allowed me to visit their site of implementation, which helped me in familiarizing myself with my ethnographic site. However, as I proceeded with my interactions, I realized the power-play which came into action, with respect to my position as a researcher. I had previously had my field experience working in rural rears, tribal belt, urban slums under various issues of concerns like displacement, education, child health and development, etc. At these ethnographic sites, it was always relatively easy to get permission as well as support from the local authorities to pursue the studies. The researcher in these social scenarios seemed to be in a position of power because he/she had the ability to utilize available social information and attempt to process it into valuable solution. In addition to this, the respondents at the ethnographic site had the time to interact with the researcher and did so freely. The attempt to convince a corporate to become an ethnographic site made me realize the shift in my power position. The power equations changed completely, with the corporate deciding on the amount of time and information they were ready to share. In-depth and intrusive data collection was not to be allowed without supervision. With a corporate as an ethnographic site, the collection of information as well as its processing was advantageous to the organization only while it was monitored by an individual with greater social power (than me) within the organization. In addition to this, any public release of information was to be screened by the organization.

Communication Chasm between Corporate and Ethnographic Work

Jordan and Dalal (2005) speaks of the routine challenges faced by ethnographers working in a corporate world, where they persistently face questions of validity and effectiveness of their methods and results. He also points out that managers, especially inexperienced ones, also feel that they are exposing themselves to unknown risk with a non-verbalized question in the background: 'Am I running the risk of exposing myself and my people to criticism that I can avoid through true and tried methods?' They struggle with the idea of having a full time ethnographer on their staff. I seemed to face a similar predicament in my interaction with the corporate.

The first question that the corporate wanted an answer for was what I could do for them. An external study was of no particular interest to them as they claimed that they continuously invested in both external auditing and assessment, through agencies with greater socio-political authority than mine, to speak for their endeavour. After continuous communication back and forth in my attempt to explain to them how an anthropologist could add value to their projects, the word 'case study' suddenly caught their attention. They were at that point of time in the process of collating public relation and communication related material and thought that I would be of

use to them in this documentation process and finally agreed to provide me an access to their organization. I had a meeting with my contact person (GM-CSR) at the corporate office to informally discuss the details of what would be expected of my interaction with the organization. It was pointed out that this would be a big favour to me as respondents in the ethnographic site were all busy and I would be taking away from their man hours of professional time as I would be engaging with various employees during the process of my research.

Thus, using their position of power, the organization stipulated certain procedural requirements controlling the research:

1. I was to be accompanied by an office resource at all times. This was pointed out as a cost to the company as they were going to divert manpower my way. This meant that I would have neither the freedom of movement nor the freedom to knowledge or information, there would be very little possibility of interpersonal relation and rapport building, and I would be monitored at all times, yet the whole process was projected as an obligation from the corporate's side.
2. I was required to provide the organization with a list of case studies, which would have been fine, had it not been stipulated within a restricted time period of one month and 'not a single extra day' – categorically pointed out. The deadline for the assignment was dictated by the need for written material that the corporate needed to process for a corporate communication. This was not conducive to my research cause as I would probably remain more busy collecting the case studies that the organization required than to be able to collect any data of my own in the stipulated time period.
3. The organization declared that any document that I produced would first have to be cleared by the organization before it was presented in any public domain.

I had, by now, already had telephonic conversations with the Head of CSR and had been allowed to continue with my research under the stipulated guidelines provided to me. I met with the Head of CSR at their implementation site/my ethnographic site, during the Health Care Centres budget planning session, and infotainment programme. During these visits, there was resistance to my continuance of the research from the country coordinator of the HCCs who was also the managerial head of the Health Care Centre at the Delhi Transport Nagar. I had telephonic conversations with the head of the HCC during my previous visits, but had not had a chance of meeting him as he had been travelling. He claimed that the field staff was well capable of documenting the required communication material (that the corporate was delegating to me) and that an outsider would not be needed to do the task, however, the manager at the HCC was not allowed to intervene in this decision and I was allowed to proceed if I would agree to follow the laid out stipulations.

While I was ready to try to collect data for the corporate within the stipulated time, one month was hardly enough time for me to understand the organization. In spite of this I might have still given the option a try, but I did not pursue it because I wanted to maintain my independence as a researcher in the collection of my data and the ability to put forth my findings without any intrusion. This was especially a consideration because throughout my interaction with the corporate, the interaction felt like one of unequal power equation where the organization wanted to hold on to all its cards and refused to reveal itself. The organization spoke of their requirements, restricted the time of interaction as well as demanded a supervisory capacity in the writing, which did not give me a comfortable feeling. As the organization under consideration did not consent to this study without their direct supervision, the name of the organization being studied for this research has been changed, for the purpose of its confidentiality and the pseudonym Apollonian Rubber is being used for the same.

Finding a 'Way Out' by Reorienting the 'Way In'

Here, I must admit that there came a time when I faced absolute disillusionment. Having worked steadily towards finalizing negotiations with the corporate and having simultaneously started with my fieldwork at the Delhi Transport Nagar, I was most disheartened when the research process did not take the path that I expected it to take. By this time I was quite determined about pursuing my research interest and did not know how to continue. My research supervisor (S.M. Patnaik) extended immense support during this turbulent period. He pointed out that all was not lost and that I was not allowing myself to think about all possible directions that could be pursued to continue with this research. Finally, as the organization under consideration refused to be open towards an in-depth study from within, it was decided to proceed with the study without. The community in which the organization operated was approached directly attempting a study from the outside moving towards the organization's CSR programme. The information on the organization was collected through secondary sources, which include public documents published by the organization itself. The field related information with respect to programme implementation, however, has been collected from Delhi Transport Nagaras, an ethnographic site, through observation of their field activities, informal conversation with their staff and interview with the local population/beneficiaries. To be fair to the corporate, they did acquaint me with their CSR process as a part of their public relations initiative and also allowed me an access to certain field related activities, which certainly aided the research, and for which I am thankful to the corporate.

Informal conversation with the head of CSR was most insightful in understanding how the HIV programme came into being and the motivation behind it, and the changing socio-political scenario due to withdrawal of foreign aid and technical support. She elucidated that being a global player

the organization influences and is influenced by the socio-political standpoint of the international lobby with respect to CSR. In pursuing the cause of HIV, the corporate had effectively aligned itself with the millennium development goals, as well as formed number of international and national public private partnerships in supporting a national level programme, that needed immediate attention. It was specified that over time, the corporate had linked its CSR activities to business goals and objectives in anticipation that business practices that are socially responsible not only strengthen communities and the environment but also support the long-term success of a company. For this the organization has engaged in CSR in not just its home state, i.e. India, but also in the other countries in which it has its factory site. In its HIV focus, where most organizations are predicted to begin with a Work Place (WPI) focused initiative, the said corporate started with an initiative among its consumers (truckers) and has moved inwards to form a WPI followed by HIV/AIDS related work place policy, for a discrimination-free work environment. The HIV project was then extended to cover its other stake-holders, the supply chain and the community at their factory sites. Apollonian Rubber's HIV/AIDS-STI management programme for truckers has seen a pan India scale up and various effective partnerships with Indian State AIDS control societies, international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community-based organizations (CBOs) and other corporate partners. Apollonian Rubber has worked towards optimizing the benefits these associations offered and had already established 20 HCCs in different parts of India. It was also pointed out that while a major amount of international funding for HIV/AIDS was provided by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF), most initiatives under their support are going through a transitional turmoil as funding was being withdrawn and the State AIDS Control Societies were taking over these initiatives. Apollonian Rubber, on the other hand, had maintained its commitment to its CSR causes.

Witnessing the interaction of employees, the decision-making within the field office and the infotainment programme provided greater insight into the organizational dynamics. The organization also provided a brief on the operation of the clinic, the programmatic details and its role in the pan India network of healthcare centres during my interaction with them. I was also given a tour of the Delhi Transport Nagar (DTN), introduced to various peer educators working with the HCC and was shown the different motivational items distributed by the HCC among the peers. The HCC also organizes two major media events during the year, one in March where they felicitate various stakeholders, and the other during December where the HCC celebrates an AIDS week consisting of various events, activities and competitions, involving the community, I was able to formally attend the media event organized in March through Apollonian Rubber. Other than this, I continued to have informal meetings with the outreach workers and peer educators during my fieldwork which contributed to my understanding of the corporate and its social initiative.

The study that succeeded consisted of two research sites, one was the corporate, its focus, ideology, management, etc. extending into its social Initiative at the Delhi Transport Nagar, and the other was the Delhi Transport Nagar consisting of the social scenario in which the CSR programme was being implemented. As the research was conducted from the outside-in instead of inside-out, it remained devoid of any corporate influence, pressure or manipulation. Though the research remains multi-sited in its perspective, the geographical site namely the Delhi Transport Nagar is essentially the space were the play pans out, which brings me to my next point of discussion.

Conceptualizing Delhi Transport Nagar as a 'Field'

Delhi Transport Nagar as an ethnographic site poses its own challenges. The only thing defined about this site is its geographical space. Rest it presents itself as an absolute antithesis to a classical anthropological site. Being a business hub the site does not have any defined population of its own, yet it is a combination of floating, migratory and nomadic population. The economic centre provides for transhipment of goods through roadways and thus primarily consists of transporter offices that keep accounts of the trucks attached, goods being shipped, their destination, the person responsible for the goods, etc. and godowns for the storage of goods. On the subsidiary level of economy is the industry that caters to the procurement, building and maintenance of the key to transportation, namely trucks, in the form of mechanical workshops, auto-part industry/retail shops, etc. At economic periphery is the population providing services to the community namely the food vendors, small ration shops, barber shops, liquor stores, commercial sex workers (CSWs), etc.

The local population consists of floating population, which is of two kinds: one which visits the DTN for work during the morning hours, consisting of transporters, shopkeepers, *dhabawalas* (owners of small illegal food stalls), street vendors, barbers, rag pickers, etc. coming in from various places in Delhi for business and leaving by around 7–8 in the evening and the other who visit in the night, consisting of night watchman, managers on the night shift and commercial sex workers both women and transgender. The migratory population, usually consisting of individuals who come in from other states and live in the DTN informally, and are engaged in various unskilled activities like labourers for loading and de-loading of trucks (known as *palledar*), manning and looking after mechanic shops, *dhabas* (small illegal food stalls), etc. The nomadic population is that of truck drivers who visit the DTN for the pick-up and delivery of the goods that need transporting, or for repair and up-keep of their trucks.

The DTN receives truckers from various National Highways including the NH–1, NH–8 and NH–20, connecting it across different corners of the country, through roadways.

Being a Woman Researcher in a Masculine Space

One of the most unacceptable feelings came from the fact that I might have had a very extensive and communicative interview with a trucker in the transporters office, but when I saw the same individual at a *dhaba* outside and re-acknowledged him with a smile or hello, he would look through me and refuse to acknowledge me. Same went with people I had once interviewed and met again after a span of 10–12 days, when they had come in for a second visit to the DTN. While these men refused to acknowledge me, they did not have a problem in speaking with the men accompanying me. I was sure that I was not that forgettable as there weren't any other women pursuing research at the DTN at that point of time. Further, the truckers could recall and converse with the men who were accompanying me but not me, while it was with me that they had communicated with at the time of the interview. It almost felt like being invisible and it was extremely unsettling.

I realized that the unacknowledgement of my respondents was a function of a greater social milieu. 'Turning to the discussion of sex in everyday life, most verbal references in Indian languages are, as in most settings cross-culturally, rather indirect. In Hindi-speaking regions of northern India, sexual intercourse is referred to euphemistically as 'meeting' (*milna*), 'sitting' (*baithna*) or, most commonly in reference to sex between married partners, 'conversing' (*batchit karna*) or 'speaking' (*bat karna*). Verbal communication as an analogue for physical intimacy is found in other domains of social interaction. In northern India, traditions of respectful avoidance mean that Hindu women in their marital homes should not only hide their faces with a veil, but also should not speak in front of any man who is a peer or older kin to their husband. Conventions of respectful avoidance are widely upheld except among urban elites, and support the implication that talking implies intimacy, since not talking demonstrates an appropriate lack of intimacy (Lambert and Wood, 2005)'. Most men belonged to a social background more akin to the social situation described above, where the social norms of avoidance hindered an open conversation with a woman, and that any woman who indulged in an open conversation with a man was of questionable character. While the fact that the topic of HIV/AIDS had brought in a number of women into the field was now accepted in the DTN. The presence of a woman asking questions which were directly related to sexual practices and STI, etc. elicit mixed responses by different people, which included quiet acceptance, avoiding, being frowned at, ridiculing and troubling, challenging and at times dismissing. My gender was not the only issue of consequence, but my profile in terms of my clothing, speech, body language, the people I associated with in terms of the HIV/AIDS outreach workers, etc. was also very different from the other women in the DTN, most of whom were *dhaba* owners or workers, rag pickers and hawkers, and were few and far between, also influenced my respondents' behaviour. Though my respondents had acknowledged me at the time of the interview as well as shared intimate information, they did not feel comfortable addressing me in public.

Further, during my interview with Gulaliya, the director of the state HIV/AIDS training cell, I shared with him the details of my fieldwork and he asked if I thought that I was getting good/authentic information. On my excited consent, he laughed and said, '*Aap ne unke sath ek peg nahi lagaya to kiya hi kya*'. Here Dr. Gulaliya pointed out and rightly so that unless 'you have had a drink with them and broken bread with them', leading to the build-up of sufficient rapport, why would they share their secrets with you? I contemplated Gulaliya's point seriously, but unfortunately I am not much of a drinker, and moreover my very presence in the field and indulging in my area of pursuit was being frowned upon, my sharing a meal or a drink with someone would totally tip the scale towards the negative for me. So, while Gulaliya's suggestion of rapport building could certainly work positively for a man, it would certainly not work for a woman. This helped me recognize my position in the field as not just a researcher but a 'woman researcher' and made me reflect on the fact that there are a few gender barriers that I cannot breach, whether I like them or not. This also made me consider my interviews more reflexively, I wanted to ensure that I was receiving correct information from my respondents and I realized that sincerity begets sincerity. In spite of all the gender biases and discomfort with respect to the topic of discussion, during the interview period, I had the sincere attention of my respondents and they attempted to answer my questions to the best of their ability, in spite of group/peer intrusions and interventions and at times even reluctance on the part of the respondents. As the interviews were a crucial source of getting information, I was rigorous with my questions and cross questioning and accepted it if an interview didn't solve all my queries. I supplemented my data through other interviews and group discussions, striving for a more holistic picture. This experience also allowed me to accept the fact that even if I was not acknowledged by my respondents on other occasions, I had their invaluable time and insight during the interview.

Recognizing my unique position as a woman researcher I tried to understand how to proceed with my research and found insight in Bourdieu philosophical position which speaks against the dualism between objectivist and subjectivist approaches in social sciences. He argues that bridging the dualism of objectivity and subjectivity allows for a more comprehensive reading of practice and experience of that practice beyond its immediate subjective evaluation. Bourdieu offers an alternative methodological account of society and individual that promises to bridge this superficial divide through an understanding of the relational properties of social phenomena. He perceives reflexivity as an important aspect of any social research that aims to transcend the duality between objectivism and subjectivism and to unveil social reality, which is hidden by presumptions. This reflexive process of breaking presuppositions as the way to understand the social world involves two levels of rupture, the first from the primary

Various sites on these highways have often been utilized to understand lifestyle and specific characteristics of the truckers, under different academic as well as administrative programmes. The Healthy Highway Programme during NACP II (Department for International Development and Family Health International) had concentrated on Highway based intervention plan, which has subsequently changed focus to transhipment locations. Thus, the transport hub is not characterized by truckers travelling on a particular route, but are an admixture of people from various geographical region and travelling to different locations. It is not possible to form a systematic scheme, strata or group among the transporters or truckers, based on the number of trucks, the region in which they operate, the amount of business they procure, the size of their godown, as these figures and information keeps changing and do not follow a patterned distribution. Further, the truck attached to a particular transporter does not necessarily park near the transport office. The trucks are parked wherever the driver finds appropriate space and the trucks are moved to the godown for loading and unloading in accordance to their turn and availability of goods. Though a few spaces are recognized as areas where trucks travelling from Himachal are parked (especially mentioned by outreach workers as these trucks are recognized to be cared for and maintained better than other trucks), trucks do not have a definite parking space, they are parked at the drivers convenience and availability of space, the trucks keep shifting position as well as moving in and out of the DTN. The ethnographic site is thus both fluid as well as dynamic by nature. Yet there are definite social patterns that emerge within the various social groups. The DTN itself is an amalgamation and network of relationship between different transporters, truck operators and truck drivers who are alternatively competitive as well as symbiotic by nature. Transporters with greater number of fleets and trucks associated with them have, thus, amassed great power in terms of both monetary advantage, as well as networking and social connectivity for receiving greater business and promoting trade. The transporters with different financial capacity have unequal monetary standing but enjoy similar social standing. Though the transporters do not socially interact on an everyday basis, but they meet at common platforms at various associations and maintain a symbiotic relationship for the benefit of trade.

This power difference within the social structure is reinforced by the maintenance of a social distance and demarcation of social space. There is a stark difference between the social space that is occupied by the transporter and the truckers. Even at the transporters office, the transporters cabin is clearly marked with proper seating and communication facility, and at times even air conditioned or at least well ventilated.

The space reserved for the driver is often sparse (compared to the number of drivers that occupy it), with usually a TV and either some chairs, or huge rows of bed where the drivers can lodge themselves comfortably. The truckers are not allowed to breach the space of the transporter/

transporters without permission. The managers behave as the inter-mediator for the two parties, and plays a significant role in maintaining the day-to-day operations of the transport company. The social status changes along with the social space (a place in the transporters office) when the driver has managed to acquire four of five trucks and enough knowledge about transporting to indulge in business discussions. An aged or experienced driver, who has good knowledge about business (*jankar*) and going rates of the trucks (according to seasons, weight to be carried, distance, etc.) might also be invited to share this social space enjoyed by the transporter. Thus, the space is associated with not just financial position but also knowledge and status.

The transporters are associated with building of new trucks and adding to their fleet, and often associate with auto-part dealers, workshop owners, and brokers for procuring trucks as well as business, and interact with them on common social platforms. They seek membership of local social bodies and compete for political office in the local welfare associations. The transporters, however, have very little association with the tertiary support system, in terms of small shops, hawkers, food stalls (*dhabas*), barbers, etc. They might avail these facilities but do not have any pertinent social interaction with them. Most transporters arrive in their transportation facility and leave by the same and do not have any interaction with this peripheral population, or the members of the community providing services at the DTN.

The drivers and cleaners, on the other hand, associate more often, readily and openly with the service providers or the peripheral social group. They are usually responsible for the repair management and maintenance of the truck and associate with the mechanics and workshop workers. They also utilize the services of the eateries or (*dhabas*) and can be seen lodged in them. The truckers, however, prefer to remain at DTN for as less time as possible cause more often they are on the road better the remuneration. The DTN, thus, represents a constant flow of people in and out of it.

Delhi Transport Nagar can, to some extent, be understood, as Salter (2008) describes, an airport, as a rhizome, wherein the DTN has a social structure of its own. However, its rhizomial roots spread far and wide through the transport industry, through the truckers visit to their native place and the migrant population moving back and forth between their native places.

In conceptualizing the geographical space, what gets left out is the fact that the gender distribution of this space is totally tilted in favour of men with very sporadic glimpses of women if any. The DTN is a highly masculine space, and in such a space I found myself handling a topic that had to deal intimately with sexual practices. How I dealt with this and come out of my own inhibitions with time makes for another story. However, in the following section, I speak of one specific aspect of my interaction which had troubled me deeply and how I came to terms with it.

experience of research participants and the second from the presuppositions of the researcher. The idea of a two-step process of epistemological rupture also embodies the seeds of the basic principles of the methodological tool developed by Bourdieu (2003) in his later works: 'participant objectification', which engenders the reflexive and relational methodological ground for social science research. Bourdieu also calls for methodological plurality, which combines qualitative insights with quantitative ones, in order to capture social reality, and the research endeavoured to adopt this philosophical grounding.

Conclusion

Fieldwork is an extremely humbling experience and I am most grateful for having been able to experience the same. It makes one realize about biases and discrimination. I make such a statement because reading and gathering pre-fieldwork information of the truckers had somewhere turned my focus towards high-risk behaviour, sexual practices, drug abuse and hedonistic attitude of this social group. This along with the discomfort of going into a male dominated area where everybody was constantly cautioning me to be on guard had created a stereotypical perspective in my mind. Though I told myself that I would try to be as unbiased in my perspective as possible, I realized the baggage that I carried only after I started my fieldwork. The human experience of interacting with people is extremely important in overcoming barriers and experiencing the social reality. Hear I must admit that I had some rather scary experiences as well so, it is not to say that one needs to throw caution to air, but to emphasize that the social interaction helps one realize that there exists a whole worldview besides your own as well as what has been typically presented in the context of a particular area of study (mine being HIV/AIDS intervention). It also brings you face to face with the reality that the field interaction is not just how you view people but also how you are viewed and the different 'statuses' that you hold in different social settings which in my case were that of being woman, a married individual, a newcomer/outsider, someone associated with the HIV programme, a researcher, an individual who has nothing to do with immediate business at hand or profit and so on, and each interaction brings to light the fact that one can only try and understand the 'other' in the relevant social context. The field experience helped me disassociate myself from my biases and evolve as both an individual and a researcher. In conclusion, I can only say that each interaction and field situation is like a puzzle, a magic box waiting to be opened, but what it requires is the right key. Yet the right key is neither definite nor definable, it can only be found as the researcher works through the maze.

Acknowledgement

I thank S.M. Patnaik for his guidance all through my doctoral research, which is the mainstay of this paper. I also express my heartfelt thanks to the truckers at Delhi Transport Nagar for their invaluable support and patience.

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